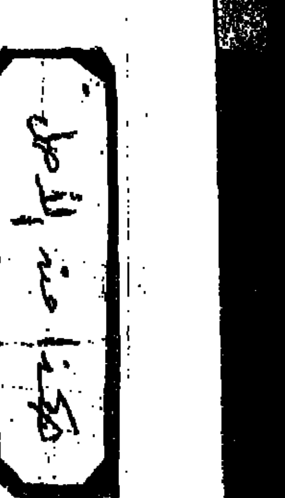


The German Tribune

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Summit settled – by the seat of their pants

The leading articles on this page were written just after US President Reagan had announced that he and the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, were to meet in Washington on 7 December for a summit that was expected to result in the signing of a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons, with further talks to be held on reducing stockpiles of longer-range weapons.

Moments of truth in politics, when diplomats and administration officials set aside their cover-up phraseology and on an impulse speak their minds, have grown far too infrequent.

One such moment occurred on 30 October when President Reagan announced the superpower summit deadline with visible satisfaction.

"You mean to say," a journalist asked him, "you have arranged a summit deadline to sign a treaty the final details of which have not yet been nailed down?"

Before the President could answer, Secretary of State Shultz admitted the questioner was right, but added: "If we don't get it done, Mr Shevardnadze and I are going to get kicked in the rear very hard by our leaders."

Over and above the speculation that accompanied the haggling over deadlines, these plain words testified to the main reason why President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachov are to confer in Washington on 7 December despite the Kremlin leader's sudden attack of cold feet.

It was the time factor. Both men were beginning to run out of time regardless of manoeuvring, domestic disputes and publicity considerations.

Overriding the diplomatic poker that preceded the announcement and disregarding differences of opinion between Washington and Moscow on the details of the INF Treaty, this pressure revealed a common concern that in reality has for months made the treaty almost a foregone conclusion: both sides need it to be a success.

Lengthy further discussion is hardly needed, although verification problems that have yet to be resolved must not be underrated – neither for this treaty nor as a precedent for future, far more important disarmament agreements.

That having been said, there will be no avoiding fine words penned and spoken about a summit meeting held on the historic anniversary of the day Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and brought the United States into World War II.

It has been hailed in advance as historic inasmuch as it will be the first treaty not just to limit but to eliminate entire nuclear systems (not, of course, forgetting that only about three per cent of the superpowers' nuclear weapons stockpiles are involved).

The historic aspect of the Washington summit lies in the attempt to halve the true nuclear threat to mankind, the arsenal of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

That will be the hard core of the 7 December summit talks, the difference being that the INF Treaty involves Western European security considerations and the cohesion of Nato, whereas ICBMs involve issues directly affecting all Americans.

Given the increasing mobility of missile systems, verification is surely a matter of life and death. Does the time factor not, in this context, assume the proportion of an irritant and a risk factor?

Memories of Reykjavik are all that is needed to recall what hazardous consequences negotiating under pressure of time can have.

One can but hope that the US and Soviet leaders will revert to established summit procedure on 7 December and merely stake out the broad outlines, leaving it to their experts to settle the finer details of such highly complex problems.

The West in particular can't afford any more Reykjavik-style shocks to plunge the North Atlantic pact into fresh confusion.

As for the INF Treaty, it may be as good as settled, but there are still sound reasons for spotlighting the political repercussions.

Both leaders need the treaty first and foremost for domestic reasons, which makes it all the more interesting to examine the growing domestic stress factors that have come to light in connection with the negotiations in both countries.

They could limit the leaders' leeway for negotiation. Mr Gorbachov's politbureau problems are probably attributable in part to this factor.

Yet the growing scepticism and open opposition to the treaty within the Republican Party in the United States are [illegible]

For America's allies in Western Europe the summit need not be a historic event; they would do well to see it more in terms of a warning for the future.

December 7 will mark the beginning of the post-INF era, an era of political and military-strategic reappraisal in which conventional arms systems gain a new status.

Yet to this day America's European allies lack even the beginnings of a post-INF concept. Worse still, they evidently lack the political resolution and leadership needed to arrive at such a concept.

It could just be that in the final analysis the only effective approach will be the one made socially acceptable at even the highest ranks by Mr Shultz: a resounding kick in the rear.

Fritz Wirth

(Die Welt, Bonn, 2 November 1987)

IN THIS ISSUE

Royal visit

Prince Charles and Princess Diana were welcomed to Berlin by Governing Mayor Eberhard Diepgen (right). They are here seen at the Deutsche Oper for an evening of ballet by the Covent Garden Royal Opera company, London. (Photo: dpa)

Nato planners prepare for the next round

The autumn meeting of Nato's nuclear planning group, attended by Western Defence Ministers in Monterey, California, was overshadowed by the dynamics of disarmament talks between the superpowers.

At the spring session, held in Stavanger, Norway, German Defence Minister Manfred Wörner fought in vain a lone battle against the double zero solution for intermediate-range missiles.

That is an issue on which any further discussion has long ceased to be necessary. An INF Treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles from 500 to 5,000km is as good as ready for signing.

This progress was partly due to Chancellor Kohl's surprise decision at the end of August to agree to scrap the Bundeswehr's Pershing missiles as part of an INF treaty between the superpowers.

Only a week before President Reagan announced the summit date Mr Gorbachov made the holding of a third summit meeting with Mr Reagan subject to agreement on "key positions" linking a reduction in strategic weapons and limits to America's SDI programme.

This problem now also seems to have been set aside, although it is sure to have rated highly on the nuclear planning group's Monterey agenda.

The superpowers are agreed that the next disarmament round is to be held in this sector.

They have even made encouraging progress toward agreement at the Start talks in Geneva on halving their respective strategic nuclear stockpiles.

A joint treaty draft has been tabled at the strategic arms reduction talks for several weeks. But on this, as on so many issues, difficulties seem sure to arise over the small print.

In the complicated game of poker to establish ceilings for specific weapons categories each side is keen to retain as many missiles as possible where it has the advantage over the other.

The Soviet Union would like to maintain its advantage in land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, the United States its advantage in sea-based systems and in cruise missiles carried on board strategic bombers.

The bargaining in Geneva over missiles and warheads is totally confused against the background of the Soviet refusal to consider a Start treaty unless America agrees to largely dispense with its SDI programme.

This linkage, incidentally, is said by

Continued on page 2

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Glasnost and perestroika blow winds of change round Eastern Europe

The latest Polish pop song sings the praises of "Mikhail" — none other than the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov.

An arguably even more telling point than this gesture of spontaneous sympathy is that dissidents in Eastern Europe now swear by the CPSU general secretary.

Economic progress, Solidarity spokesmen remind Polish Party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, must according to the Kremlin be accompanied by true democratisation.

In Hungary academics and members of the Opposition have appealed to Premier Grosz to allow greater Press and parliamentary freedom.

In Prague members of the Charter 77 group, intellectuals and workers have demanded democratic reforms and an amnesty for political prisoners.

"When the Soviet Union talks in terms of reform," says Hungarian writer Miklos Haraszti, "it is up to us to make full use of the opportunity."

It is yet another case of a change of course in the Kremlin triggering a sense of revolutionary change in Eastern Europe.

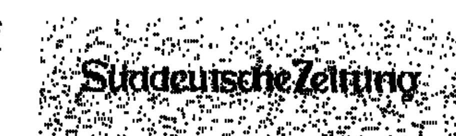
Every change yet in Moscow has led to turbulence in the "fraternal" countries. "When Moscow sneezes," says US Eastern Europe expert Charles Gati, "its allies are liable to catch pneumonia."

In the past Moscow has usually had to resort to military intervention to bring presumptuous fraternal parties back to heel. There are bitter experiences that have not been forgotten.

In Prague, where Soviet tanks last nipped reform measures in the bud in 1968, a persistent joke runs:

"What is the difference between Gorbachov and Dubcek? — None, other than that Gorbachov is as yet unaware of the fact."

Scepticism apart, there can be no doubt that Mr Gorbachov has given rise in Eastern Europe, especially among young people and the intelligentsia, to expectations and hopes of an innovative, more democratic society.



Aging Party elites in Eastern Europe have inevitably been caught up in the winds of change in Moscow.

Yet although Mr Gorbachov has left no doubt that he intends in the long term to enforce his policy in Eastern Europe he has not exerted pressure on his allies.

The opposite has been the case. Moscow has, for the first time, called its ideological monopoly into question and conceded a measure of leeway to the "national interests" of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union's Eastern European allies have eagerly taken up this national autonomy option.

The result is a growing differentiation within the East Bloc covering the entire ideological spectrum, from eager-beaver reformers to orthodox guardians of the Holy Grail.

Regardless of their "national circumstances," however, Eastern European leaders have one point in common: none of them is a new Gorbachov.

As representatives of the Brezhnev era they stand to a man for the conservatism they now claim to surmount.

Even the Polish leadership, under General Jaruzelski, who at 64 is the youngest Party leader and has been in power for a mere six years, is considered by the Opposition to be a "conservative crew incapable of any real change."

Three categories can now be distinguished, starting with a vanguard that has already far outstripped Moscow.

Both Hungary and Poland are trying to make use of the tailwind from Moscow for political and economic reforms of their own. Both are sounding out new ground for the communist world.

In Budapest Premier Grosz, a dogmatist of old who now presents himself as a super-reformer and advocate of his very own Grosznost, has introduced the East Bloc's first income and value added taxes.

In Poland the government plans to submit its latest reform package for public approval by a referendum.

Hot on the heels of the vanguard, if only verbally to begin with, come the fellow-travellers. Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia are making great play with perestroika and very little with glasnost.

Sofia has launched its own version of restructuring, on paper only, and brazenly lays claim to leadership within the bloc in reconstruction.

The sudden enthusiasm for reform is even more amazing in Prague, where the men who stamped out the 1968 reforms at Moscow's behest are now busy reintroducing some of the selfsame reforms.

They say the most far-reaching economic reform since 1948 is planned and the legal system is to be thoroughly revised.

The rejectionists come a poor but nonetheless self-assured third. They consist of strange bedfellows East Germany, the East Bloc's industrial showcase, and bankrupt Rumania.

Both claim that Mr Gorbachov's reforms are no use. Both claim long to have put into practice what Moscow has just begun to experiment with.

In the GDR chief ideologist Kurt Hager has recently repeated this argument in the Party newspaper *Neues Deutschland*. It is one that East Berlin can, at least where the economy is concerned, put forward with some justification.

In East Berlin the SED has at least managed to issue declarations of sympathy with the CPSU general secretary. In Bucharest Mr Ceasescu continues to cold-shoulder Mr Gorbachov.

The Soviet leader can afford to bide his time. He is beginning to gain support in the GDR and Rumania without making a single move of his own.

In East Berlin young people this year have chanted "We want Gorbachov!" at the Wall.

In Bucharest dissidents have submitted reform proposals to the Soviet general secretary. A disgraced politician by the name of Ion Iliescu, seemingly a staunch Gorbachov supporter, has unexpectedly called for democratisation.

There may be no cases of pneumonia yet but there are signs of the first sneezes. Mr Gorbachov's "peaceful revolution" seems to be highly infectious for the "fraternal" countries.

Barbara von Ow

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 30 October 1987)

Continued from page 1

high-ranking Bundeswehr officers in Bonn to be "totally unwarranted."

Another important agenda item for Monterey was the future structure of nuclear potential in Europe.

In this connection the Bonn Defence Ministry reaffirms that the Federal Republic cannot be in the least interested in a European "fire curtain" of more and updated short-range (less than 500km) missiles to take the place of intermediate-range systems to be eliminated by the terms of the INF Treaty.

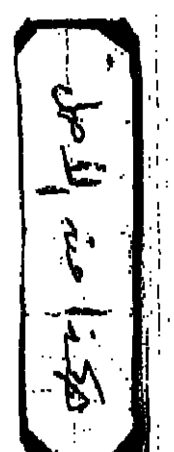
The Bonn government is here caught on the horns of a genuine dilemma. It is bound to call for the elimination of short-range missiles aimed solely at targets in Germany as soon as possible.

Yet the Federal Republic would then be even more defencelessly at the mercy of Soviet conventional superiority and of Warsaw Pact "invasion capability."

So Nato Defence Ministers seems likely to gaze well over the nuclear fence at Monterey and call for talks to begin as soon as possible on a reduction of the conventional imbalance in Europe.

Dirk Sommer

(Bremer Nachrichten, 2 November 1987)



"Genscher was here" — first visit to Albania

Since flying to Tirana on 23 October Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has finally succeeded in visiting every European capital.

The Albanian capital was freshly spruced up when Herr Genscher became the first Western Foreign Minister to visit it, landing under the watchful eye of Albanian air control at Rinas airport, about 15 miles from Tirana.

He arrived on board the first Luftwaffe plane to enter Albanian air space and, as the official motorcade headed for the city centre, some onlookers wondered whether Herr Genscher was superstitious.

They had noticed the Maltese cross, emblem of the Bundeswehr, and somehow imagined it might be of religious significance.

Albanian officials did not, however, convey the slightest impression of having been so isolated for decades as to have no experience in hosting high-ranking visitors and their parties.

It came as a particular surprise to note that they made no attempt to persuade Herr Genscher and his party that everything was for the best in Albania.

Herr Genscher's party included Christa Vennegerts of the Greens, on behalf of the Bundestag's finance committee, diplomats and a handful of journalists.

The Albanian capital was modestly decorated with red flags and banners, but not to welcome the visitor from Bonn. The flags were flying for the Albanian youth congress that had begun on the eve of Herr Genscher's visit.

None but older Albanians will recall, and then no doubt with difficulty, that Mr Khrushchev visited Tirana in 1958, followed by China's Chou En-lai in 1964.

Tirana then vanished into self-imposed oblivion.

Foreign Minister Reis Malile and Prime Minister and Party leader Ramiz Alia stressed the importance they attached to Herr Genscher's visit. Mr Malile accepted an invitation to visit Bonn next year.

Both sides, Herr Genscher later said, would being drawing up lists of desiderata in the meantime. They should prove lengthy, ties between the two countries being no more than sporadic except for trade.

Albania, Herr Genscher said, was prepared to establish relations dynamically and on a wide basis. Bonn was to play a major role in helping Albania to modernise.

The impression he gained from his talks was that Albanian officials were both aware of economic exigencies and keen to maintain their national identity.

Frau Vennegerts was delighted with the forthright and cordial welcome extended to the German party. She was also pleased to have been in greater agreement with the Albanian Foreign Minister than with Herr Genscher on issues of peace and disarmament.

She spent 30 minutes in discussions with Mr Malile, who was clearly well aware who her party, the Greens, were and what they stood for.

Herr Genscher mentioned the Helsinki accords and conference but failed to receive a satisfactory answer.

Enver Hoxha may have been dead for two years but the Albanians still want to have nothing to do with the great powers.

Next year Hoxha's 80th birthday will be celebrated as though he were still alive and well. A gigantic museum is to be built and a statue unveiled on Skanderbeg Square to keep his memory alive.

Deputy Foreign Minister Sokrat Plaka, Albania's former ambassador in Vienna, accompanied Herr Genscher to the heroes' cemetery.

He laid a wreath at the foot of "Mother Albania" 10 paces from the grave of Enver Hoxha. It was the first time a wreath in the German national colours had been laid there.

Was it a great day for Albania? "It certainly isn't a night," said writer Ismail Kadare, whose work is now available in German translation.

For the people of Tirana it was a day like any other except that a motorcade drove into town in the morning and back out to the airport in the late afternoon.

He was noticed by two Dutch women tourists buying souvenirs, as he arrived at the Dajti Hotel. Albania, they said, was evidently no longer as exotic as it once was. "Genscher was here."

Franz Smets

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 24 October 1987)

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■ PARTY POLITICS

CDU's Blüm keeps SPD Premier Rau on his toes



Norbert Blüm (Photo: Sven Simon)

Latest opinion poll findings came as a relief to planners at North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau's State Chancellery.

Recent headlines had almost suggested that Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, the Christian Democrat leader on the Rhine and in the Ruhr, had already taken over power from the Social Democrats in Düsseldorf.

An Infas survey has now confirmed that the groundswell tells an altogether different tale.

In September 67 per cent of voters felt Premier Rau was best able to solve North Rhine-Westphalia's problems, while 63 per cent wanted to see him continue as Prime Minister.

Dr Blüm in contrast was preferred by a mere 35 per cent.

Since these figures have been available Herr Rau has found it easier to persuade fellow-Social Democrats that his was the right approach.

Many of them had urged him to show the flag after the summer recess and oust Herr Blüm from the headlines. But Herr Rau will hear nothing of such ideas. He has no intention of allowing nerves to get the better of him.

He has referred to the relevant members of his Cabinet the many calls on him to hold conferences or talks with the North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader.

He doesn't even mention Herr Blüm by name unless it is absolutely necessary to do so; he prefers to refer to him as the Labour Minister.

But he certainly takes the latter to task, telling Social Democrats that: "the most effective weapon against the Labour Minister is a good memory."

He has no doubts as to the issues on which Herr Blüm must be taken to task. There are still over two million Germans out of work despite the Labour Minister's efforts.

Herr Blüm has also been instrumental in anti-trade union legislation while failing to persuade the Bonn government to scrap plans to reduce the top rate of income tax and invest in job-creation schemes instead.

Yet Herr Blüm is a stayer. Just as he seems to be encouraged by steelworkers' catcalls at public meetings to stand his ground, he invariably feels Herr Rau's reaction to his proposals are somehow a feather in his cap.

He is, of course, well aware that the Premier's men have closely followed his every public appearance and are constantly updating a file of statements he has made.

He says with an impish smile that Herr Rau no longer says "Good morning" on arriving at the Chancellery; instead he asks his staff: "What has Blüm been up to now?"

He has usually been up to something or other. On being elected North Rhine-Westphalian CDU leader he called on Christian Democrats to come down from their high horses and go out into the constituencies.

He has certainly taken his own advice. He is invariably on the spot to address even those who will have little to do with him politically: in Hattingen where the steelworks face closure and in Gelsenkirchen and Aachen where the coalminers face redundancy.

Man to man, he promptly uses the familiar *du*, or second person singular, and trade unionists reply in kind even though they find it hard to do so.

He is, after all, a member of IG Metall, the engineering workers' union, and likes to be addressed as a fellow-unionist.

What he has to say is clear. His message is that he is there on behalf of the North Rhine-Westphalian CDU. Christian Democrats, he says, have a ready ear for people's problems: "I am always there when I am needed."

He promises both in Hattingen and in Aachen, where an entire coalfield faces closure, to prevent mass redundancy.

As soon as the mines are mentioned he adopts an attitude that is little short of reverential. He may come from Frankfurt and still speak unmistakable Hesse dialect but he waxes lyrical about the Ruhr countryside and about the enormous effort its people put into postwar reconstruction.

Gone are the days, before he was elected CDU leader in North Rhine-Westphalia, when he referred to the Ruhr as the junk heap of Germany.

If he is to deliver on all the promises he makes at such meetings he will first and foremost have to prevail on his Cabinet colleagues in Bonn.

His most resolute opponents are fellow-members of Chancellor Kohl's Cabinet. Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann, for instance.

For Herr Bangemann the trouble with the Ruhr is the amount that is invested there in subsidies. Every mark invested in the coal industry is, he feels, a mark no longer available for investment in new industries.

Herr Bangemann, the FDP leader, is keen to reduce as soon as possible the surcharge on electricity bills that subsidies German power station coal.

Fellow-Free Democrat Achim Rohde, the North Rhine-Westphalian FDP leader, takes the same line in the state assembly. He makes it absolutely clear that, as far as the FDP is concerned the coal industry's days are numbered in the Federal Republic.

Free Democrats no longer accept the argument that German coal is an indispensable national energy reserve. As cash is in short supply in Bonn for a variety of reasons it is hard to say who will prevail on this point.

Herr Blüm's associates are aware of the danger and insist that there must be no division of labour by which the Economic Affairs Minister first goes on the rampage, followed by Herr Blüm with a field ambulance unit to treat the wounded.

By and large Herr Blüm's success or failure will certainly depend on Bonn, which is a factor about which Herr Rau is bound to have mixed feelings.

The man who may be his opponent at the polls in 1990 is at present his main ally



Johannes Rau (Photo: Sven Simon)

in coping with North Rhine-Westphalia's present problems.

Bonn will only come to North Rhine-Westphalia's assistance if the CDU makes a point of insisting on Federal government support, as has already been seen in respect of the coal industry.

On taking over as CDU leader in North Rhine-Westphalia one of Herr Blüm's first moves was to marshal North Rhine-Westphalian Christian Democrats in the Bonn Bundestag.

He warns Herr Bangemann in no uncertain terms that: "We are 58 MPs, which is more than the FDP can muster from all over the country."

As a result of this strategy Christian and Social Democrats have unexpectedly joined forces in the North Rhine-Westphalian state assembly.

After lengthy dithering both parties in the assembly have endorsed the transitional policy on coal advocated by IG Bergbau, the miners' union.

This policy provides for an initial cutback in nuclear power production, with coal being given preferential treatment until 1995. Atomic energy will thereafter be allowed to regain ground.

The CDU found it very hard to stomach the first part of this twin-track policy. The SPD, which would sooner phase out atomic energy as fast as possible, has difficulty with the second part.

Irrespective of the coal industry atomic energy is a moot point where Herr Blüm's CDU and Herr Rau's SPD are concerned.

On a recent visit to the Kalkar fast breeder reactor Herr Blüm was quick off the mark, calling for the reactor to go online at long last and trenchantly attacking the state government.

Many Christian Democrats would admit that Herr Blüm is not particularly well-briefed on the fast breeder project, but he blandly announced that there could no longer be any doubt that it would be perfectly safe.

Kalkar, he said, symbolised Herr Rau's reluctance to arrive at a decision. It discouraged investors and was transforming North Rhine-Westphalia into an "open-air museum of unfinished progressive projects."

Yet even fellow-Christian Democrat Klaus Töpfer soon had to admit, as Environment Minister in Bonn, that this line of argument was still not entirely convincing.

Environment Ministry officials have yet to dismiss once and for all the safety misgivings raised by the state government in Düsseldorf.

Herr Rau is taking this dispute very much in his stride. He feels sure Herr Blüm would be doing him a good turn by continuing to champion Kalkar.

If there is any issue on which Herr Rau is definite in his own mind it is that if Kalkar is still an election issue in 1990 his opposition to the project will be preferred by voters, leaving Herr Blüm out on a limb.

Jürgen Zurheide

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 25 October 1987)

Ulf Fink, the unconventional CDA leader

Ulf Fink, the new leader of the CDA, the Christian Democratic employees' association, or "working class" wing of the CDU/CSU, has a keen sense of the unconventional.

As Health and Welfare Senator in Berlin he has been known to personally take to the streets, handing out leaflets and condoms to draw attention to the Aids problem.

He has championed voluntary social work with a neat slogan and is also keen to combat genteel poverty among old people.

His approach to welfare policy as it should be pursued by the modern metropolitan party Mayor Diepgen's Berlin CDU claims to be has prompted him to fund a range of projects that extends to the alternative end of the political spectrum.

It is an outlook partly based on his Protestant attitude toward public welfare. A leading Protestant layman, he has been known to spend his holidays with the family at a Catholic convent in Poland.

Yet he comes from the heartland of the Protestant Church in Germany. He was born in Freiberg, Saxony, in 1942 and grew up in the Ruhr, where he took his *Abitur*, or higher school certificate.

He read economics in Marburg, Hamburg and Bonn and joined the staff



Ulf Fink (Photo: Poly-Press)

of CDU Labour Minister Hans Katzer at 24.

In 1969, when the CDU went into Opposition in Bonn, he joined the staff of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party, specialising in pensions.

He would have been unlikely to get as far as he has done had he not been an astute tactician, and this was a skill he learnt from master-tactician Heiner Geissler.

In 1973 Herr Geissler hired the progressive party worker as head of planning at the Rhineland-Palatinate Welfare Ministry in Mainz.

There he drew up concepts on social issues, education allowances and two-way pensions (for widows *and* widowers). He also studied ways of stemming the tide of spiralling health service costs.

In 1977, when Herr Geissler was appointed CDU general secretary on Helmut Kohl's recommendation, he had no intention of leaving Herr Fink behind.

He took him with him to Bonn, where he became head of the political department at the CDU head office and, in 1979, the party's business manager.

Appointed Health and Welfare Senator in 1981 when Richard von Weizsäcker

Continued on page 4

HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn parties close ranks and take stock after Barschel affair

The turbulent aftermath of the Barschel affair in Schleswig-Holstein has made politicians in Bonn, at least those in the Bonn government coalition, huddle closer together.

This is reflected in sweeping declarations by politicians from all parties to mend the errors of their ways and raise moral standards.

Admittedly, the value of such assertions is often immediately debased by the backbiting between the Opposition and the CDU/CSU.

Their inevitable joint denial of having abused power or the electorate's good faith may lead to a new kind of rivalry between the two leading parties affected most by the Barschel affair.

SPD foreign policy expert Karsten Voigt, for example, is just one of the members of the SPD parliamentary party who feels that Social Democrats should stop painting the Bonn government in the darkest possible colours and condemning their activities lock, stock and barrel.

Although these considerations have nothing to do with events in the country's northernmost state SPD politicians are beginning to realise that the Opposition could be more effective if it related its policies to political realities.

This means more collaboration with the Bonn government in various policy fields.

First, the SPD freed itself from the paralysis of its leadership. Now, some parliamentary party members have also started to elaborate new issue-related strategies to fight the Bonn coalition more effectively.

When Anke Fuchs (SPD) publicly tears the government's pension scheme reform plans to shreds she no longer voices the opinion of the entire parliamentary party.

Some SPD politicians in Bonn feel that the constant articulation of a counterpoint to the government's policies is not the best way to regain political power.



Practical activities in Bonn and at a regional level, they believe, including closer cooperation with other parties in the foreign policy field, would be more effective.

SPD party chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel has already indicated that he condones this new approach.

Following Chancellor Kohl's decision for a conditional reduction of missiles, and in the wake of American-Soviet negotiations, Herr Vogel is unable to discern that many fundamental foreign and security policy differences.

He has referred to possible cooperation with the government in the foreign policy field, in particular with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and would like to improve relations between the SPD and Washington.

Before this can take place, however, a new structure of political responsibilities must emerge from the current compartmentalisation within the SPD.

At present, Vogel feels primarily responsible for Deutschlandpolitik, Egon Bahr for the Soviet Union, Horst Ehmke for Poland, Johannes Rau for Britain, Oskar Lafontaine for France and Spain, and Klaus von Dohnanyi and Karsten Voigt for Scandinavia.

Many security policy politicians would like to see this loose structure tightened up.

This suggests that the party is trying to enhance its political appeal and strength.

As for the CDU/CSU, Chancellor Kohl is doing his utmost to ensure that the party's rank and file does not gain the impression that the party's leaders lack interest in what happens at grass-roots level.

Kohl wants to smash the encrustations which can all too easily develop when a party succumbs to the temptations of power before ossification sets in.

There are weak points in the Bonn cabinet.

Despite his industriousness, for example, Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer has been unable to promote the same kind of image of overall policy competence as his predecessor Walter Wallmann.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg is faced by both opposition to his tax reform proposals and the burden of the events within the *Land* group of the CDU in Schleswig-Holstein, where Stoltenberg is party chairman.

Although he has the backing of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party it now seems doubtful whether, under strain, Stoltenberg can to keep his composure and avoid giving the impression of being nervous.

Stoltenberg remains the CDU's No. 2 (after Helmut Kohl), but his strongman image has suffered.

The coalition's other reform plans will put personalities and their willingness to cooperate to an equally tough test, both in the CDU/CSU and in the FDP.

If Bonn Economics Minister and FDP leader Martin Bangemann decides to go to Brussels as president or vice-president of the European Commission next year FDP business manager Helmut Haussmann will undoubtedly make a bid for the vacancy.

Count Lambsdorff seems a likely candidate for the post of party chairman, with Wolfgang Gerhardt and Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer as his deputies.

The FDP would nominate Haussmann as Bangemann's successor in Bonn.

As Haussmann knows that Lambsdorff is not keen on returning to the cabinet he is unlikely to block his efforts to become party chairman.

Although political life in Bonn may seem pretty static at the moment it is in fact in a definite state of flux.

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 October 1987)

Continued from page 3

was Governing Mayor of Berlin, Herr Fink shares with Herr Geissler the view that the CDU/CSU's best prospect of retaining majority support is to appeal to erstwhile supporters of the Social and Free Democratic coalition.

His work in Berlin, where his activities have included a number of welfare campaigns, the launching of the German Cardiac Centre and a controversial rationalisation of hospitals, seems to justify his viewpoint.

In 1985 he won the Gesundbrunnen seat in the erstwhile Red borough of Wedding for the CDU. Twenty years earlier Willy Brandt as Governing Mayor had polled 73 per cent there for the SPD.

This success will have strengthened his resolve to stick to his political guns as CDA leader in succession to Norbert Blüm.

It remains to be seen whether this policy will regain ground the CDA has lost in the trade union movement.

Ralf Georg Reuth

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 October 1987)

Lesson to be learnt by all democrats

No party claims such high moral standards in its very name as the Christian Democratic Union (CDU).

The uniting intellectual bond of this people's party is the pursuance of political goals in the spirit of Christian responsiblity.

When the CDU's 1978 manifesto was adopted in Ludwigshafen Helmut Kohl remarked that if the CDU was unable, in the interests of democracy and freedom, to satisfy the elementary hunger for inner meaning or politics unable to convey values and perspectives the Federal Republic of Germany would run the risk of losing the confidence of its citizens.

In the long run, Kohl added, this would jeopardise the foundations of the democratic state.

The increase in the number of people turning their backs on the CDU or cancelling party membership is not just a result of general structural changes in society.

It results from the disappointment of expectations which were too highly pitched.

Many people feel that there is a yawning gap between professed moral standards and reality, a contradiction between yesterday's promises and today's action.

The Bonn government's plans to introduce a withholding tax on interest payments is a case in point.

The credibility of all political parties, especially the CDU and CSU, has suffered from the Barschel affair in Schleswig-Holstein — Germany's home-grown Watergate affair.

It was the CDU/CSU which set out to effect a political and moral renewal after it came to power in Bonn in 1982.

The scandal in Schleswig-Holstein seems to confirm suspicions that the sludge of degenerated morality has piled up in the backyards of political power.

The aberrant and the abject appears to be the exception which proves the rule rather than the exception to it.

Many politicians and the media have distorted the political reality of the Federal Republic of Germany into a caricature.

However, irrespective of the shocking lack of political and journalistic culture demonstrated during this affair politicians and the media are doing a more responsible job than a first analysis might suggest.

A characteristic feature of a free and democratic social order and a free press is the ability to make scandals known to the public.

This publicity has a catalytic function in the self-purification processes of a democratic system.

The right lessons can only be learnt from the Schleswig-Holstein scandal via a proper sense of proportion and a healthy sense of reason.

Scandals will always occur in politics and in the press — the Steiner-Wienand affair and the publication of the fake Hitler diaries are two examples which immediately come to mind in the West German context.

This in itself, however, does not warrant a sweeping condemnation of the quality of politics.

The fostering of a disenchantment with politics has just as inglorious a tradition in Germany as the disastrous belief in the motto: if you're not for us, you're against us.

The best response to the Barschel affair is a critical reappraisal and not a rejection of politics. During the funeral ceremony for Uwe Barschel, Bishop Wilckens stressed that the call for a changing of ways and a new start must be translated into new forms of conduct.

He reminded journalists that they were not only committed to truth, but also to the dictates of tact and fairness.

The incredible ruthlessness and lack of consideration for human suffering shown during recent weeks, he said, could not and should not be tolerated.

The displays of tastelessness violating decency and human dignity, together with journalistic self-righteousness, were a warning to all trainee journalists.

Wilckens called upon politicians to regard the loss of power as a normal occurrence.

Acting Schleswig-Holstein Premier Henning Schwarz emphasised that the struggle for politicial majorities ran contrary to the guiding motto of a humane democracy if it resulted in disparagement, humiliation and death.

In a statement on the affair the CDU national executive called for a comprehensive investigation.

The joint responsibility of all political parties to ensure that democracy did not suffer as a result was also emphasised. This is an encouraging move.

A friend-or-foe mentality should not exist between democratic politicians.

The main lesson which politicians and the press should learn from the German Watergate affair was that humanity should be the measure of all things.

Political parties should take this message to heart during the election campaign for fresh elections in Schleswig-Holstein.

Every effort must be made to make sure that cynics are not given the change to celebrate another triumph.

Rainer Nahrendorf

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 28 October 1987

PARTNERSHIP

Kissinger and Schmidt address Aspen Institute conference in Berlin

During an Aspen Institute conference in the Reichstag building in Berlin former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's National Security Adviser, stressed that "we should encourage Soviet reforms" and, "above all, change the international situation that is the cause of tension".

At the same time Dr Kissinger emphasised that the West should call for changes in the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

Europe was not playing the part it should be in developing an overall strategy, said Kissinger. It was absolutely essential, he added, for Europe to reach agreement on a common defence policy.

Kissinger reaffirmed his scepticism on disarmament negotiations as they stood, insisting that "we cannot go on drawing up agreements we don't ratify".

He concurred with the sentiment of the previous speaker, former Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, that the Western world suffered from a lack of leadership and consensus.

"In the middle of a phase of radical worldwide change there is a disproportion between existing problems and the power of leadership," Kissinger pointed out.

Herr Schmidt called for "patient but courageous optimism" even though his description of the current worldwide situation was very critical and pessimistic.

He referred to the special role of the USA, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, underlining that these three countries "assume greater responsibility for the world economy than all other countries put together".

The foyer of the Reichstag building directly overlooks Berlin's East-West border.

For many attending the conference entitled "Perspectives for the 21st Century" and organised by the Berlin Aspen Institute, the German branch of the parent institute in Aspen, Colorado, this was the first encounter with the reality of a divided Germany and Europe.

Three hundred participants and observers from 15 highly industrialised and Third World countries attended the three-day conference on political, economic and cultural aspects of Europe's future.

German President Richard von Weizsäcker, opinion poll researcher Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, former Bonn government spokesman Klaus Bölling, Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin Hans-Otto Bräutigam, US ambassador in Bonn Richard W. Burt, British Social Democrat David Owen and experts from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland were just some of the attentive guests in Berlin.

The Polish writer and historian Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, who won the 1986 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade, reminded the conference that the inhabitants of Budapest and Prague, Warsaw and Cracow, and Leipzig and Dresden also regard themselves as "joint heirs of all-European tradition."

"As Christians and human beings in a Europe which was put to a hard test by two world wars," he urged, "we have a commitment to overcome this dividing line and mitigate the consequences of this division in any way we can."

Bartoszewski emphasised that another kind of "European mutuality" exists apart from that of the western European community.

This historical and intellectual "common ground" should be retained, he added.

"This European mutuality of thought, culture and art will survive the dissimilarities of political, economic and social systems.

"This depends on all of us, however, including those who live in authoritarian systems."

The atmopshere at the conference was easy-going and relaxed. Efforts were made to make meaningful statements and outline useful perspectives.

The British historian Alan Bullock, a member of the Aspen Institute's board of governors, hit the nail on the head by remarking that Europe was no longer the centre of the world.

What is more, Bullock maintained, Europe would never regain its former significance.

Nevertheless, he said, it was essential for Europe to foster its former vitality and self-confidence.

In a paper dealing with the economic aspects of Europe's future Christian Democrat Kurt Biedenkopf stated that the "proliferation of intelligence" was a precondition for the solution of future problems and the only field in which unlimited growth was still possible.

"Unemployment today," said Biedenkopf, "is caused by the lack of intelligent organisation of labour and the labour market."

The society of the future, he said, must be willing to do without the application of experience which has been tried and tested over many years in order to be receptive to new ideas.

Renate Kohl/Dieter Dose

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 October 1987)

Germans are self-confident Europeans — Weidenfeld

Coordinator of German-American relations Werner Weidenfeld described the Germans as "self-confident Europeans" at the annual conference of US specialists in German studies.

According to the Bonn Foreign Office Professor Weidenfeld [illegible] uis that a working Europe was the best contribution towards the future of the Western alliance.

Only progress toward the integration of Western Europe would be able to reduce imbalances within the alliance, he said.

The German presidency of the European Community in 1988 would give the Bonn government an opportunity to "provide the Franco-German motor of integration with additional fuel."

He was also convinced that Bonn's policy towards Europe had revived Franco-German cooperation and made possible the adoption of the Single European Act.

European integration, Weidenfeld added, was a fundamental political objective in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Approval of this goal, he maintained, went beyond economic objectives.

As a lesson from history the Federal Republic of Germany had viewed its commitment to Europe since its foundation as a rejection of National Socialism and "anti-Western" tendencies.

For this reason "Europe must not degenerate into an agency for the distribution of material goods."

There are plans to set up the "German-American Youth Exchange Council" suggested by Bonn Chancellor Kohl and President Reagan in 1986 in the near future.

There will be eight German and eight American council members, Weidenfeld announced.

The German members are to be recruited from various Bonn government departments as well as from the *Bundesrat* (i.e. representatives of the *Länder*), members of major regional organisations and the German-American coordinator.

Ten thousand students, schoolchildren and trainees from the Federal Republic of Germany have visited the United States each year.

Back in Bonn the coordinator of German-American relations, who is assigned to the Bonn Foreign Office, said [illegible] often tried to promote an image of Germany in America from an exaggeratedly European angle.

In order to ensure a widespread impact, he said, it was necessary to see things "through more American eyes."

Professor Weidenfeld, who was appointed following agreement between the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister, has the task of coordinating the interests of intersocietal, cultural and information policy cooperation with America within the Bonn Foreign Office and the various government departments.

All these departments as well as the parliamentary parties in the Bundestag, the *Bundesrat* and major private and semi-public foundations are represented in an America committee which furnishes the coordinator with information.

Weidenfeld expressed his hopes for more extensive sponsorship, for which there was a willingness in both the Federal Republic of Germany and the USA.

Opinion surveys in this field have shown that there is a "broad basis" of approval, among young people too, for an extension of German-American cooperation.

In the age of growing uncertainty which appears to have begun in the Federal Republic of Germany the appeal of American self-confidence is all the greater.

The financial resources available to the Bonn Foreign Office, the Goethe Institute, Inter Nationes and various foundations should in future be more closely aligned to the priority objective of selected projects.

The Federal Republic of Germany invests approximately DM100m each year in German-American cultural exchange.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 October 1987)

■ FINANCE

Black Monday: computer trading to blame?

Black Monday, the Wall Street crash that shook the world's stock markets last month, has triggered further debate on whether the stock exchange should be manned by market-makers on the floor or be computerised.

These alternatives have been discussed in West German industrial and financial circles for some time.

The chief executive of the Düsseldorf stock exchange, Wilfried Podlinski, calls for a unitary German stock exchange.

This exchange, supported by the wide use of computers, would relay stock exchange information between the eight exchanges in this country.

The securities market is not a vacuum. The reality is that there has been an increased internationalisation and worldwide interconnection in industrial and economic activities.

According to Herr Podlinski this means there is an urgent need for a decision to be reached about introducing, or not introducing, a computerised stock exchange.

Consideration must be given to the different structure of the American and German stock exchange systems.

There is an enormous difference between the American market-maker system and the auction sale system applied in this country.

Here the jobber does not purchase shares but simply acts as an intermediary.

The present stock exchange system with market-makers on the floor of the exchange would be retained, but unofficial dealings before and after official hours would be handled by a computer.

Podlinski maintains that this makes sense since the arrangement would take into account the changed international market situation.

Over the past few years computer technology and satellite links have increasingly influenced our lives. This is true of stock exchanges too.

In the past only people who were present on the floor of the stock exchange could deal. They could observe the movement of share prices, determine buying and selling prices before making decisions.

Today, however, anyone who wants to can follow market movements on exchanges all over the world in real time. High technology makes this possible.

Now news agencies or telegraph bureaus, as they were called after the introduction of the telegraph about 1850, devote much of their time to economic affairs reporting.

At the beginning of European industrialisation and the blossoming of trade by the introduction of railways and steamships, there was more to be earned from reporting on the financial world than on political events.

Julius Reuter (1816-1899) was trained in banking in Göttingen before he got to know about the news agency business as a translator for the French Havas agency in Paris.

Reuter went independent in Aachen in 1850 with his carrier pigeon service to and from Brussels. He filled a gap that had existed in the European telegraph system linking Paris and St Petersburg (now Leningrad).

When Werner von Siemens, founder of the Siemens organisation, plugged the telegraph gap between Brussels and Aachen, Reuter moved to London where the first major industrial exhibition was in progress.

He provided London bankers and trading houses with commercial news from the City which he got from his former contacts.

He also provided bankers and trading houses in other European cities with information about burgeoning British industry and the extensive trade from London to the British colonial empire.

After the Second World War the Reuters agency strove to be quicker than any other organisation in reporting on the economic boom. To this end Reuters, now the largest news agency in the world, deployed modern communications methods.

The businessman in a hurry did not have to wade through a mountain of ticker-tape reports, as he had previously had to do, reports that only gave a limited view of developments on the stock exchanges.

To aid their decision-making clients had to be provided with the data they required instantly.

The first step in this direction was the now legendary Stockmaster, equipment that only provided the position of a share at a given time.

Later the Videomaster provided much more information. It showed the listings of a particular number of shares in the various stock exchanges worldwide, Tokyo, London, New York or Frankfurt.

Reuters made the first move towards electronic communications with the Videomaster in 1968.

Now prices quoted on any one stock exchange are supplied by electronic data processing to all other stock exchanges. On a video screen at one's desk it is possible to see in a split second information essential for a commercial decision.

Apart from Reuters, equipment of this sort is available from AP/Dow Jones, Jiji Press of Japan and the Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste (VWD) in Frankfurt — just to name a few of these services.

The satellite links and computerised stock exchange information have nothing in common with American computerised stock exchange dealings, which were at least partly responsible for the stock exchange crash.

In America there is a stock-index futures market. In the Federal Republic there is no such market.

American computer trading involves providing information on quotation variations between the spot price for 1,700 shares listed on the New York stock exchange and the futures index that appears on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

Profits can be made by tracking down these differences. This is known in stock exchange jargon as index arbitrage, trafficking in stocks to profit by different prices in different markets.

In the past few years dealers involved in this have called in the computer to help them.

The computers are programmed so that they hold in their memory the spot and futures prices of all the contracts of their various clients. The computers constantly compare the price differences to see whether they have made a profit or a loss for their clients, and independently give commands to buy or sell.

In the view of New York stock exchange observers this business, without any risks, accounts for about a third of the daily trading on the New York exchange.

This business also makes a profit by placing excess cash on loan at short-term interest.

Private speculators have, therefore, few chances of taking "a safe plunge" with the aid of computers. Who has ten million dollars to spare? It isn't worth taking the risk with any figure less.

The trading does not involve a single share but a package of at least 500 stocks.

This futures dealing is only lucrative with cleverly thought-out programming.

This kind of dealing, practised in the United States, creates greater liquidity. It attracts more investors to the market and, as a consequence, there is a greater trading volume.

According to one of the dozen or so American broker subsidiaries in Frankfurt, until now they have not handled business of this sort for German firms.

These stock-index futures, widely traded in America, easily lead to wild course fluctuations if the individual share options and the contracts expire simultaneously.

A particularly ticklish point is the custom in the market that calls for punters to pay down only a tenth of the deal.

Heavy losses have then to be covered with the sale of shares with the result that shares are temporarily placed in a declining market.

As everyone is linked up to the computer forecasting and everyone has the same information at the same time there are no buyers.

American business methods are becoming established in European stock exchanges; making a bet on which way the market is going.

Financial futures of this sort can be placed not only with the Board of Trade in Chicago but for some time now in London and Zürich.

Observers on the Frankfurt stock exchange believe that there are people interested here, prepared to have a flutter in this dodgy business.

American stock exchange executives regard "playing with computers" as responsible to some extent for the events on Black Monday.

Eventually the New York stock exchange management decided to close down the automatic order system for computerised trading.

The Chicago Mercantile Exchange fixed daily price limits on dealing in futures.

Hansjoachim Höhne

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 1 November 1987)

How markets faced up to the crash

The Wall Street crash of 19 October, Black Monday, shows just how temperamental the volatile stock markets have been over the past few years all over the world; not just in New York and London, but also in the exchanges in Hong Kong and Tokyo.

On the Tokyo exchange prices have moved in only one direction — upwards.

But every generation of stock exchange dealers gets one sobering experience at least.

All who have watched with fascination the continuous upward movement on stock exchanges since 1982, must have regarded the latest crash as a bad dream. They have not known losses of this order before.

Level-headed stock exchange commentators have pointed out often enough that stocks and shares are risky. Stock exchanges are not a one-way street with profits all the way.

The "cleansing storm," as F.W. Christians put it in *Der Spiegel*, did not come from a bright, blue sky. For a long time the signs were visible on the German stock exchanges, which reached their zenith on 17 April 1986, fifteen months before New York and Tokyo and 12 months before London.

But few took notice of these signs and even fewer took avoiding action.

Christians' interpretation contradicts the depths of the American mentality; the idea that Treasury Secretary James Baker has taken the opportunity of the slump so that he can present a dazzling Wall Street in election year 1988.

American politicians are prepared to sacrifice a lot for political goals, but a slump that scratches the American image and brings about losses running into millions is not one of them.

The answer of some overseas investors in the United States, who until now have docilely invested their capital in America as the safest bet, has now come home to roost.

Despite the antics of the American dollar during Reagan's presidency, the Arab Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have regarded the dollar as the safest medium for investment.

These true allies of the West maintain at any one time $80bn in the US, the other Gulf states a further $40bn.

They are now complaining of losses that exceed the blows sustained in the 1986 oil price plummets.

The Kuwait daily *Al Kabas*, analysing the mood in the Gulf, wrote: "The world has paid a high price for America's childish policies and for the US's badly calculated adventures; now the Americans must pay an economic price for their childish behaviour."

The Kuwaitis grumble about the collapse of trust in the American economy coming together with a decline in confidence in the contradictory policies the Americans have pursued in the Gulf.

The Arabs' disappointment, the deep concern of the consequences of the stock market crash, is similar to the stunned anger of upright private investors, who cannot understand that no state, no institution, no bank has taken action to protect their capital.

Quite unlike private investors, the Arab states do not seem to have learned that there is a risk hidden away in every profit-making investment.

Of course, behind the Wall Street crash there are the American budget and external trade deficits. But these were not news on 19 October. These deficits were known facts before that date, and in the Gulf too.

There were some telling differences deployed to cope with the crisis. The German stock exchanges extended their trading hours to be able to handle the backlog of contracts.

For three days Wall Street finished trading earlier than usual, as did the Pacific Stock Exchange during the crisis days.

Paris suspended trading in shares that were badly hit. Hong Kong closed down completely.

When the Hong Kong exchange opened on Monday the stock market fell by about a third. Stock exchange hands said the drop was a backlog. Nothing much is achieved when you bury your head in the sand.

Dietrich Zwätz

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 27 October 1987)

■ AEROSPACE

On-off merger talks between Daimler-Benz subsidiary Dornier and MBB

Daimler-Benz chief executive Edzard Reuter is on record as having said: "Influence, which every company has solely by virtue of its existence, can change into dubious, even dangerous power."

For some weeks the boards of management of Daimler-Benz and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB) have been discussing merger terms, although no-one is allowed to admit publicly that talks are taking place.

Daimler has even gone so far as to deny that negotiations between Daimler-Benz and MBB are underway.

Nevertheless the substance of the discussions is how can MBB and Daimler subsidiary Dornier be linked together. Both are major aviation and aerospace companies.

The MBB management in Munich is also not prepared to comment on this matter. Hanns Arnt Vogels, MBB chairman, could only be coaxed to admit that such an idea "had passed through his mind."

Even Lothar Späth, Prime Minister of Baden-Württemberg, usually not wanting for words and who did his utmost in 1985 to pave the way for Daimler-Benz to take over the private aviation company Dornier, is suddenly reluctant to say anything on the theme of an MBB-Dornier link.

Although FDP Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann would like to see the two West German aerospace organisations merged Späth, a nimble CDU politician, explained in *Die Zeit* in September that he would "urgently warn against such a move."

Opinions on this theme are only expressed when it is put in a different way, for instance the reorganisation of the West German aviation and aerospace industry. Edzard Reuter is prepared to talk along these lines.

Reuter is the newly-appointed chairman of Daimler-Benz, now West Germany's largest industrial undertaking.

If the West German government is working for a new arrangement in the aviation sector, Reuter has said that his organisation would not "withdraw" from such discussions.

Alfred Herrhausen, chairman of the powerful Deutsche Bank and to all intents and purposes master at Daimler-Benz where the bank is the largest shareholder, would ask to speak.

Herrhausen, who is also chairman of the Daimler supervisory board, said: "It must be a matter of concern to Daimler-Benz what happens to MBB."

Hanns Arnt Vogels, chairman of the MBB management board, wants to preserve an important growth industry. He said: "We need a strong aviation and aerospace industry to be competitive with our partners in France and Britain."

He said that he believed that supporting this industry was the need of the moment.

Whatever the representatives of the aviation industry have to say about reorganisation or support it is all basically to do with removing the competition that has existed between the old rivals MBB and Dornier.

Erich Riedl, CSU state secretary in the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, expressed this unambiguously. "I believe competition between the two is nonsense."

MBB and Dornier are synonymous in West Germany with the aviation and aerospace industry, the construction of aircraft, satellite technology, arms manufacture and high technology. MBB has 35,000 employees and an annual turnover of DM5.7bn. Dornier employs 9,500 and has sales of DM2.1bn.

Until now both have operated alongside each other. The *Länder* of Bavaria, Hamburg and Bremen hold 52 per cent of the MBB equity, but very much under the overriding influence of Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss.

Dornier was a classic family concern until there were inheritance disputes in the Dornier family and 65.5 per cent of the Dornier stock was sold to Daimler-Benz in 1985.

The MBB Group was formed of Messerschmitt, Hamburger Flugzeugbau and Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke (VFW) in 1968. It was not regarded as a particularly profitable operation, but as a model think tank and powerhouse of German technology.

Dornier held its ground and achieved a technological lead in satellite research. MBB managers were envious that Dornier was the sole West German company to manufacture entirely an aircraft of its own, a 20-seater jet.

This existence side by side will come to an end for it is not only Herr Riedl who believes that there is a lot of duplication in the Dornier and MBB organisations.

There are precedents for cooperation between the two rivals who suspiciously watch each other to ensure that neither is favoured when it comes to government contracts for building fighter aircraft.

In one of the "merger" plans Daimler would take over a quarter of the MBB basic capital held by Bremen and Hamburg. Dornier's physical assets would then be merged into MBB to help the

DIE ZEIT

Daimler group to a majority holding in MBB. Talks concerning the value of MBB and Dornier are now in full swing.

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann has achieved his goal. He is upset at the billions Bonn has to fork out for the Airbus, built in cooperation with France and Britain.

MBB is involved in just over a third of the production of this aircraft, but it can only be sold on international markets at a loss.

Bangemann said that he believed it was essential that MBB had an industrial management in order to give the Airbus better opportunities to compete with the Americans.

Bangemann has high hopes of a tighter management and low-cost production by MBB that in the past has been spoiled by lavish armaments contracts. The company is technically sophisticated but its production is costly.

Furthermore he believes that a powerful organisation could cover the Airbus losses that until now have had to be financed by the taxpayer.

Deutsche Bank and Daimler also have reasons to think about MBB's future, for Dornier is not doing as well as it has done in the past.

Last year, the first complete year under Daimler management, Dornier showed no growth in turnover and profits dropped by 20 per cent.

Then Dornier was hit by bad news from Bonn. The Defence Ministry does not intend to hand out any contracts for updating the Alpha jet fighter, which Dornier built in conjunction with the French Dassault Group.

This meant the loss of about DM1bn of turnover which the company was counting on.

The story is rather the same at MBB. For the first time in its history the company showed a loss in its final balance sheet last year. Juicy defence contracts for the construction of the Tornado fighter have run out.

New programmes such as the military jet "Jäger 90," on the drawing boards for years and to be built by four countries, or the new Franco-German anti-tank defence helicopter, have not been started up for lack of cash.

Even MBB's prestigious space programme has not earned any money, because the Bonn government has not given the go-ahead for participation in the European launcher rocket *Ariane 5*, and there have been delays to the manned European space shuttle *Hermes* and the *Columbus* space station. The industry, including Dornier, is waiting for contracts of the order of DM30bn.

State secretary Riedl said: "Space travel is in no way financially safeguarded."

It is not surprising then that the Bavarian state government favours the admittance of wealthy Daimler-Benz into MBB, and as quickly as possible.

Aides close to Herr Strauss say that the doors are wide open for Daimler. For some MBB managers it cannot happen quickly enough. One MBB manager said: "We must arrange the Daimler participation as soon as possible."

He is very much in favour of seeing the German aviation and aerospace industry being able to rise to top dog in Europe.

He said: "The Federal government needs some such signal to be able to approve these major projects."

The only question is how swiftly can Daimler decide to participate in MBB. From its own experience in mergers MBB knows that it takes time to come to decisions.

The union with Messerschmitt in 1968 went off quickly. The merger negotiations with the Hamburger Flugzeugbau, owned by the Blohm family, lasted many months in 1969.

The take-over of VFW stretched out strictly speaking 13 years. The discussions came to grief twice, because VFW demanded the top job in the group, which the proud managers at MBB certainly were not prepared to concede.

Even in 1977 when Bremen-based VFW was weakened it still took a further three years to reach agreement.

Although there is an urgent necessity for a merger between the two organisations it is amazing that contradictory arguments are brought out of the hat.

Erich Riedl, for instance, maintains that there is no competition between Dornier and MBB. In the run-up to discussions arrangements were made concerning major government contract projects. That is why both companies could be combined immediately.

Others say, and Riedl is among them, that there is a price war between the two for the ever-declining number of government contracts. It results in losses that the state has to cover.

Well over half the turnover the two groups total is from arms contracts. But a merger is the only step that can be taken to safeguard the companies' future, and in particular to ensure that international competition is not made worse by national rivalry.

Alfred Herrhausen of the Deutsche Bank would like to see the creation of a unit "of decisive size" in the industry so that the Germans can improve their position in international competition. He said that the attempts to do so should not be abandoned.

But before anything can happen the Bonn government must dig deep into its pockets. Daimler-Benz is holding back from making a merger offer because, the group says, "fundamental decisions have still to be made by government."

For instance there is the German Airbus company, a wholly-owned MBB subsidiary. It is in debt to government to the tune of DM1.9bn and to the banks to the extent of DM1bn.

Nor has it been arranged how the development cost subsidies of more than DM3bn for the first three Airbus prototypes are to be repaid to the state.

The Bonn government, however, believes it has a trump card in its hand. Dornier wants DM220m as a development cost subsidy from Bonn for a new 30-seater plane.

Bangemann has blocked this money until the aviation industry has put its house in order. Dornier cannot themselves finance the development of this aircraft project.

It is an open question whether a unified aircraft construction group as envisaged would be a strictly run operation or whether it would think along the lines that dominated its predecessors — getting the government to cough up contracts.

MBB already has a guarantee from Bonn that the company would not be ruined by government aircraft building programmes.

Prime Minister Lothar Späth also is worried that the new group, if merged, would be able to carry on when in trouble with state funds, despite all international competition.

He said: "I think it is dangerous if we can only have an aircraft group for civil and military aircraft production that has to be endlessly subsidised."

Leopard tank manufacturer Krauss-Maffei learned just how secure the domestic armaments industry can feel with the state two years ago.

When owner Friedrich Karl Flick made it known in 1984 that he wanted to sell off the ailing company, possibly abroad, Bavaria, at the behest of Defence Minister Manfred Wörner, immediately bought heavily into the company.

In the run up to this deal the Monopolies Commission had already indicated that a link of this sort would have to be quashed because it would create a unit that dominated the armaments industry.

Although MBB and Krauss-Maffei operate in very different markets, the state secretary in the Defence Ministry who is responsible for procurement, Manfred Timmermann, is worried about the "Moloch MBB."

There are many who sense danger in the creation of a German aviation organisation such as is envisaged, because it would introduce a new power factor into the Federal Republic.

The Daimler take-over of AEG in 1985 was the largest merger in the history of the Federal Republic. With MBB Daimler would then have 350,000 employees, 300,000 within the country, and would be the largest private employer in West Germany. Turnover would exceed DM70bn annually.

Daimler, with AEG, engine manufac-

Continued on page 8

■ EMPLOYMENT

Ruhr has yet to find a flagship to replace hard-hit coal and steel



Black flags are flying in the Ruhr, with public attention drawn once more by warning strikes and demonstrations to Germany's industrial heartland and its problems.

IG Bergbau, the miners' union, feels 150,000 jobs will be in imminent danger if coal subsidy reform plans are carried out as tabled.

A fresh retrenchment programme has just been approved for the steel industry in Bonn, with 40,000 steelworkers, more than half of them in the Ruhr, to be phased out by 1989.

They are to be made redundant on what are called socially acceptable terms, which probably means politically acceptable ones.

The Ruhr has been a steady source of bad news, of never-ending crisis, for nearly 30 years. Is the end, and a sticky one, now in sight?

Between 1974 and 1985, the Essen-based RWI economic research institute reports, 63,000 coal and steel jobs were lost in the Ruhr.

The North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office in Düsseldorf lists further depressing figures. Unemployment is 19 per cent in Gelsenkirchen and Castrop-Rauxel, 18 per cent in Herne and 17 per cent in Dortmund.

On average one person in seven of employable age is out of work in the Ruhr. That means 260,000, or 60,000 more than are still employed in coal and steel.

Jobs have been axed fast and furiously in the Ruhr in recent years, whereas job creation has been slow and unspectacular.

In manufacturing industry, the RWI says, the number of jobs has declined by an annual average of 2.6 per cent since 1978, or almost three times as fast as the national average.

Between 1977 and 1986 the Ruhr lost over 120,000 jobs for which social security contributions were payable. Losses were heavier than in any other part of the country.

The service trades alone made good a fraction of this loss, creating roughly 40,000 new jobs.

Yet these figures are an inaccurate reflection of reality in the Ruhr, where productivity is still the highest in the country, according to the Essen chamber of commerce and industry.

In 1985 only 4.9 working hours were needed to gross DM1,000 in turnover; the national average was 5.3 hours.

Overall turnover per employed person was also higher than the national average. So were gross wages and salaries — and purchasing power.

The Ruhr used to be about 70 per cent dependent on coal and steel. The figure today is a bare 30 per cent. In cities such as Dortmund and Essen more people are now employed in trade and the services than in manufacturing industry.

Yet the large firms still predominate. In Essen, for instance, a mere three per cent of firms account for one job in three in industry.

In neighbouring towns and cities the ratio is often much the same.

The region's leading coal and steel companies can hardly be considered a bright hope for the future. If anything, they tend to hamper urgently needed structural change.

Their production capacity is highly capital-intensive and can as a rule be used to manufacture only one product. A cartel outlook is also said to often paralyse potential for innovation.

Leading companies in the Ruhr find it less risky to diversify by take-overs of firms in other parts of the country.

So there is, for one, an outflow of investment capital from the Ruhr. No-one know just how much, but the total certainly runs into billions.

For another, capital is encouraged to invest in North Rhine-Westphalia, and with some degree of success, as shown by newcomers such as Siemens and IBM, McDonald's and Haindl.

New patterns of industrial association are needed, the RWI says. The quest is for a new "crystallisation point that gives the remainder of the economy greater stimulus than it gets from it," which used to be the case with coal and steel.

It has been an unsuccessful quest so far, with no industry holding forth any current prospect of emerging as the new flagship of the Ruhr.

Yet the prospects are not at all poor. Contractors whose sole role used to be that of suppliers to the coal and steel industries have for the most part diversified to new product ranges in, say, mechanical engineering, plant manufacture and environmental engineering.

The chemical industry, which used to be geared mainly to manufacturing mass-produced basics, now sees itself more as a motive force of the economy.

Chemicals and mechanical engineering are steadily coming to the fore in the Ruhr, as in other parts of the country. In North Rhine-Westphalia mechanical engineering now accounts for almost as much turnover as coal and steel combined.

The Ruhr has long been a centre of transport, energy and trade. Including Düsseldorf, it accounts for over two thirds of the country's electric power and natural gas.

Ruhr-based wholesale and retail traders such as Aldi, Tengelmann, Karstadt, Metro, Haniel, Klöckner, Raab Karcher, Stinnes and Aral are nationwide names.

The Essen economic research institute says that since the start of the mining crisis more structural problems have been successfully handled than public opinion generally appreciates.

Where views differ is on how effective pump-priming programmes by the North Rhine-Westphalian *Land* government in Düsseldorf have been.

There has been a number of them: the 1968 Ruhr development programme, the 1970 North Rhine-Westphalia programme, the 1979 Ruhr action programme, the steel location programme and further dozen or so, all aimed at attracting new technologies and new jobs.

Since 1980 North Rhine-Westphalia claims to have promoted industrial development totalling over DM17bn in new investment, backing 4,000 companies and so creating or safeguarding "well over 200,000 jobs."

The *Land* has also lent a DM1.1bn helping hand in 16,000 entrepreneurial ventures and given 12,000 newcomers to self-employed status financial support.

These figures apply to the entire *Land* of North Rhine-Westphalia, so it is hard to say how much of this investment benefited the Ruhr.

It is bound to have been the lion's share but, again, views differ as to the effect of this general cash input.

The *Land* government recently outlined details of its latest coal and steel programme, calling for regional and local initiative and support in fund allocation.

The situation does not seem to be hopeless, although everyone agrees it will probably be impossible ever to offset the enormous lsoss of jobs in coal and steel.

A cross-section survey by the Duisburg chamber of commerce and industry bears out this hope, up to a point:

"The Ruhr's greatest handicap is less economic than psychological in nature. There is a considerable contradiction between its image and reality as an industrial location.

"This contradiction is the result of a largely onesided and detrimental portrayal of the Ruhr as a whole."

The Duisburg survey goes on, however, to cast doubts on the efficacy of public investment in restructuring.

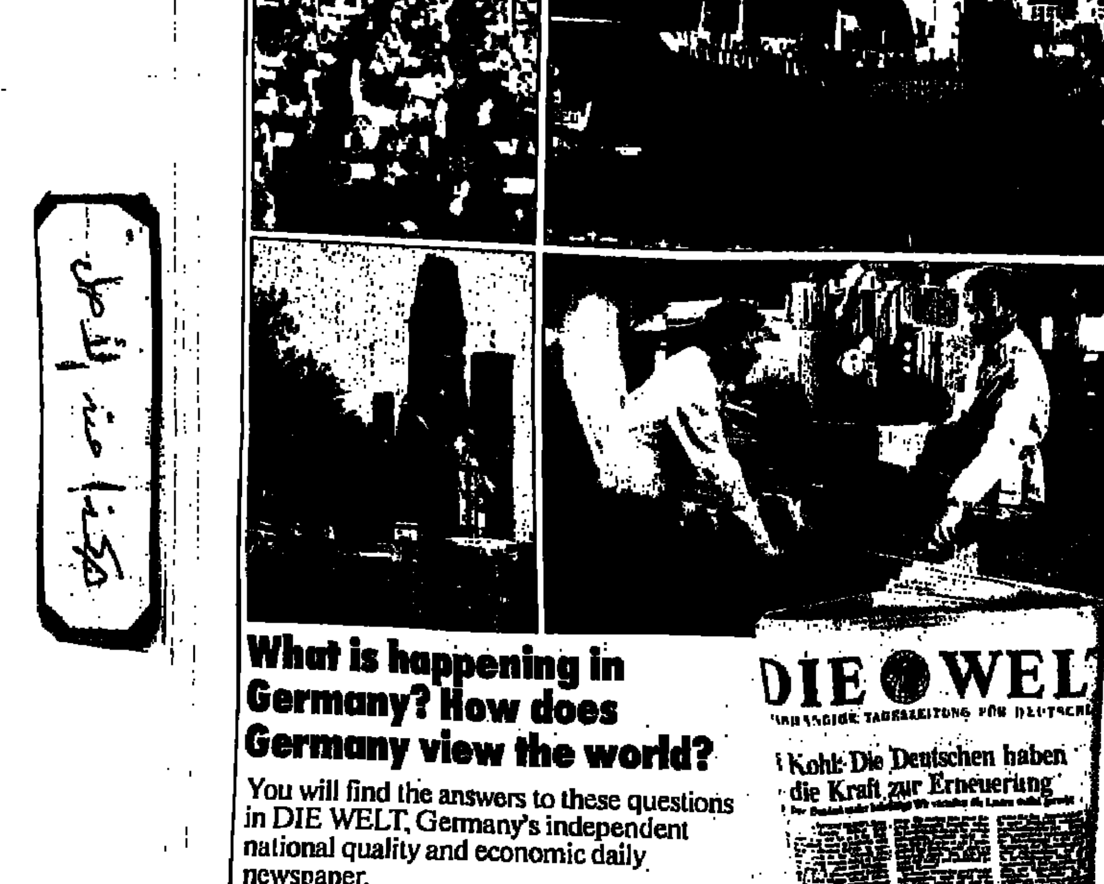
Public funds, it says, are less important factors in location and industrial development than wage and power costs, market proximity, a good road network and attractive rents and prices for land and facilities.

Trade tax rates are a further key factor, and they tend to be high in the Ruhr.

The Dortmund chamber of commerce and industry feels time will tell toward a solution of the Ruhr's problems, as will the steady population decline. Might that mean there will be full employment again before long?

Leonhard Spielhofer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 17 October 1987)



Continued from page 7

turer MTU and Dornier, is already the largest arms supplier in the Federal Republic.

An official in the Monopolies Commission in Berlin could only tear his hair because politicians are also involved in the merger attempts.

Even if the Monopolies Commission prohibited Daimler's participation in MBB, it would come about because Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann could topple a Commission decision with his veto.

A member of the Monopolies Commission staff said: "It is terrifying how little consideration is given to regulative policy. It is obvious that such an organisation would be a political danger."

Munich political scientist Professor Kurt Sontheimer warns against this merger, saying: "It is obvious that an economic power would be created that the government could not overlook."

Erich Riedl, advocate of a strong aviation and aerospace industry under the Daimler star, does not regard this as particularly disturbing.

He is a friend of Herr Strauss at the Economic Affairs Ministry and said succinctly: "That's the way the cookie crumbles."

Karl-Heinz Büschemann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 October 1987)

■ RESEARCH

Doubts cast on benefits of European space plans

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Ministers in charge of space research from 13 member-countries of Esa, the European Space Agency, meet in The Hague on 9 and 10 November, and the prospect of heavy investment fires the imagination.

The meeting has been called to pave the way for European ventures in manned space research. No-one can say exactly what the future holds in store; all that can be said for sure is that it will be expensive.

Esa has three main projects in mind: the Ariane 5 launcher rocket, a share in Nasa's Columbus space station project, and France's Hermes space shuttle.

Hermes would make Europe independent of the United States. It is a shuttle designed for a crew of four to six and to be launched by the Ariane 5.

The powers that be in Esa feel the time has come for Europe to embark on manned space research projects of its own.

Esa demonstrated Europe's combined space potential in spring 1986 when the Giotto space probe was sent past Halley's comet.

The Ariane launcher rocket has also gained a reputation for reliability, while even keen supporters of transatlantic ties have lately shown signs of a growing realisation that Europe will need to decouple from the United States.

Cooperation between Esa and Nasa has never been tension-free. Nasa has always been most reluctant to share research findings, and tension is likely to increase.

After the January 1986 Challenger disaster the Nasa management is under heavy pressure to deliver the goods.

Another factor may weigh even more heavily. US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger is keen to put the Columbus space station to military use, particularly with SDI in mind.

Esa in contrast, backed by its 13 member-countries, is committed to strictly non-military objectives.

That would seem to decide the issue for the Hague meeting, which is due to reach a decision that will pave the way until well into the next century.

Since the United States plans to put Columbus to partly military use, Esa might be expected to set aside any idea of taking part in the Columbus programme and to concentrate instead on Ariane 5 and the Hermes space shuttle.

But it isn't that simple. After the Challenger disaster Esa felt obliged to take extra safety precautions with Ariane 5. These provisions increase the rocket's deadweight and reduce its payload appreciably.

So Ariane 5 may well be able to put satellites into orbit, but the Hermes space shuttle could prove too much for it.

Besides, the Hermes is designed along lines similar to those of the first generation of US space shuttles, which is no longer the latest.

That, then, is the problem. In opting for Hermes Esa might find itself backing a veteran space vehicle despite the existence of more advanced designs on European drawing-boards.

They include the British Hotol project, a combination of aircraft and rocket, and the German Sänger project, an aircraft designed to travel at between six and seven times the speed of sound, to put a space shuttle into orbit and to return to base after carrying out its mission.

So the Ministers face a far from easy decision in the Dutch capital, especially as the financial commitment will be very heavy.

By the turn of the century Esa projects will cost an estimated DM65bn toward which Bonn would have to contribute about DM15bn.

No-one for a moment expects costs to be kept to this level. Social Democrat Wolf-Michael Catenhusen, chairman of the Bundestag research committee in Bonn, says large-scale projects of this kind can be expected to cost between five and 10 per cent more per annum.

The cost factor is what worries both Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber and Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg.

Bonn is busy mooting plans for a less ambitious space programme. Ariane 5, it is now said, needs only to be designed for unmanned space missions. As for Hermes, there is no need yet to make a final decision.

Economists are not alone in disagreeing on the efficacy of European space research projects. Jürgen Heraeus, head of the Heraeus group of companies in Hanau, near Frankfurt, has raised a stir with his letter to Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann and his Bonn Cabinet colleagues Riesenhuber and Stoltenberg.

Herr Heraeus argues that German industry's fairly sound international competitive position will in future be threatened mainly by Japan.

In the past Japan, he says, has mainly concentrated on a handful of mass products aimed mainly at the US export market. But trade problems with the United States are forcing Japanese industry to reappraise its position.

Its new strategy, which can already be seen to be taking shape, is aimed at leadership in new products and technologies, at extension of competitive capability to all sectors, including the service trades, at rock-bottom prices by manufacturing in low-cost South-East Asian countries and at setting up Japanese manufacturing capacity in Tokyo's main export markets to circumvent protectionist controls.

Herr Heraeus argues that Bonn government backing for research and development in the next 10 years must be aimed at ensuring the Federal Republic remains competitive with Japan.

The growing emphasis on space research will, he says, take up any slack left by less investment in nuclear research and impose a further burden on funds at the Bonn Research Ministry's disposal.

Herr Heraeus feels the commitment to manned space research is an appalling mistake, a tragedy. The innovation effect of space research has long passed its peak.

Herr Riesenhuber replied that the cost of space research would indeed be substantial, but not out of all proportion in the context of the German economy. It would, moreover, be modest by international comparison.

The innovation effect, he feels, will be considerable. He also attaches great importance to the effect of space research in promoting European integration.

Space research supporters have lately stressed the significance of materials research, but recent findings indicate that it may be less dramatic than they claim.

This inference must be drawn from a memorandum by the German Physics Association's advisory committee of industrial physicists published in the association's journal *Physikalische Blätter*.

In the memorandum a number of qualified physicists and materials scientists doubt whether, other than in a handful of exceptional cases, materials research at zero gravity in outer space can achieve results that might not be achieved more easily and under more readily controllable conditions on terra firma.



Faces worrisome cost factor: Research Minister Riesenhuber (Photo: Sven Simon)

The variable costs of processing material in space are estimated at between DM10,000 and DM100,000 per kilogram, depending on the carrier vehicle and the length of time in space. DM10,000 is the minimum, DM100,000 the likelier figure, and no known or prospective material is so valuable as to warrant such heavy investment.

Professor Heinz Harnisch, head of research and development at Hoesch, has also voiced considerable doubts as to the efficacy of space research.

He has sounded a warning note not to invest wildly inappropriate sums in space research while neglecting other research sectors.

Industrialists have now been joined by a leading scientist, Max Syrbe, president of the Fraunhofer Society.

Professor Syrbe says space research does not increase the general level of technological development to any great extent from industry's point of view. "Space research," he says, "isn't everything."

The Federal Republic may owe it to its status as a leading industrialised country to commit itself more heavily on space research, but the country's vital interests would not be served by neglecting projects aimed at keeping German industry competitive and concentrating instead on prestige projects.

While criticism has finally been voiced, plainly but late in the day, the contest is under way for the location of a proposed German aeronautics and space agency.

North Rhine-Westphalian Christian Democrats in the Bundestag favour a location in the Cologne-Bonn region. CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss would prefer to see a German Nasa based in Bavaria.

Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 9 October 1987)

■ THE ARTS

Goethe Museum in Tokyo tells a tale of elective affinities

Thomas Mann once asked rhetorically whether the figure of Goethe would not one day be considered in the same light as Jesus of Nazareth, as a myth-creating personality of wonder.

He made this comment in his contribution to the commemorative publication issued on the 100th anniversary of Goethe's death in 1932, published by the *Japanese Goethe Society*.

Mann went on to say that there were similarities between the two and that during his lifetime Goethe was called "a divine person."

Mann could not know that in distant Japan a young man had been impressed by Goethe as a "myth-creating personality of wonder."

During a long illness the 18-year-old high school student Tadashi Kogawa read the first part of Goethe's *Faust* in a Japanese translation in hospital.

When he had finished Goethe's masterpiece he said: "I could not really understand him completely, but when I got to the end he had made an indelible impression on me."

He decided to devote his life to Goethe and to establish a museum to his memory, unique in the world.

•My life was a gift from God. I wanted to devote it to Goethe.•

In 1983 a biography of Kogawa appeared with the title *Wanderer's Nightsong*. It read like an example taken from Goethe's autobiographical *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in which he said: "What one desires in youth one has in plenty in old age."

In 1932 Kogawa's Goethe library included 32 books about and by Goethe. Kogawa was then a successful businessman in Tokyo.

Five years later he was called up for military service but on account of illness he was discharged. He said: "It seemed to me that my life had been given to me as a gift from God. I wanted to devote it to Goethe."

In the following years, with the assistance of his wife and the profits from his business, he began systematically to collect Japanese works on Goethe. His intellectual mentor was the Japanese Goethe scholar, Kinji Kimura.

During the war years Kogawa added to his Goethe collection — in danger of his life often. More than once while rummaging through libraries he was injured in air raids.

Kogawa established the Goethe Archives Foundation in Tokyo in 1949, the 200th anniversary of the poet's birth. He himself provided the finances for this.

Fifteen years later he had a seven-storey building put up in Shibuya in central Tokyo to house these archives. But this building soon proved to be inadequate for the rapidly expanding collection, that Kogawa made available to the public without charge.

This year, on Japanese Culture Day, 3 November, Kogawa will open the new Goethe Memorial Museum. He commissioned the construction of a classical building with plenty of space for the library and exhibitions in the Kita-ku district of Tokyo. The library has now grown to 220,000 volumes with 1.5 million index cards.

In addition he intends to set up a Goethe Research Institute in Nagano Prefecture.

There are about 30 visitors to the library daily. Not every Japanese Goethe Institute enthusiast pursues his passion quite like Kogawa, who, until now, has declined all invitations to visit the Federal Republic and East Germany, on the grounds that he has no time to get away from his Goethe collection.

Kogawa needs only five hours of sleep a day. Every day he looks over 380 daily newspapers and 80 literary publications in Japan for articles that have any bearing on Goethe.

His fanatical enthusiasm for Goethe has made Kogawa himself into a figure in literature.

In the novella *Napoleonmanie*, by Takashi Atoda, he is represented as a manic collector of items from the French emperor's life. This becomes such an obsession that the character in the novel one day believes that he is Napoleon's reincarnation.

The work has a macabre ending with the collector ending up mummified in the collection.

Atoda also wrote Kogawa's biography, already mentioned, but this work does not go so far as to assert that Kogawa believes himself to be a reincarnation of Goethe.

A glance at Kogawa's gigantic collection of Japanese writings about Goethe gives the impression that there is an affinity between the Japanese spirit and Goethe.

Goethe himself felt this affinity as is shown by the report of a young Austrian officer who acompanied Goethe in 1813 on a visit to the art collections in Dresden.

The young officer wrote: "A last tour was limited to the Japanese palace. Goethe's comments and comparisons on the formation of good taste, the form and painting of all non-European art works, particularly the Japanese, were of considerable originality and tastefulness. . ."

Nietzsche maintained that Goethe was *"an unforeseen event without consequences in the history of the German people."*

Events in Japan gave the lie to Nietzsche's other statements about Goethe, that the Weimar poet had no influence and that his time was yet to come. Japanese interest in Goethe began in the 1870s when attention was increasingly being given to German affairs.

The poet Mori Ogai was the most prominent of Japanese enthusiasts for Goethe in those early years. He had studied medicine in Germany in the 1880s.

He triggered off an enthusiasm for Goethe with a brilliant translation of the Goethe poems, a number of essays on the poet and a translation of *Faust*.

This led to the publication in the 1920s and 1930s of the complete Goethe works, including the more than 30-volume Kaizosha edition.

There were in addition any number of individual editions of Goethe's works, monographs and literary research on Goethe, with more than 40 versions of his *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*.

The Japanese enthusiasm for Goethe was in no way confined to an esoteric literary circle of Germanists. Goethe became known firstly in Protestant circles through English translations and it was Japanese philosophers who began to read him in the original.

In the 1920s the nineteen-volume Omurashoten edition of Goethe's writings appeared, including his *Zur Farbenlehre*, his work on optics in which he sought to disprove the Newtonian theory of light, and the *Versuch über die Metamorphose der Pflanzen*, translated by the important physics academic Jun Ishihara.

In the 1930s there followed the morphological writings and the historical part of the *Farbenlehre*.

There are in Japan not one, but two Goethe societies with their own yearbooks. Two commemorative publications appeared in 1932.

Goethe's significance for modern Japan was expressed a few years ago by the well-known Japanese Germanist and translator Tomio Tezuka. He said that, apart from Goethe, many great European thinkers had influenced the Japanese spirit deeply since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but Goethe's influence was greater in three respects.

His influence in Japan was "constantly vigorous," his attraction was not limited to academics but included "very extensive sectors of Japanese society," and he influenced the Japanese more by his wisdom than by his writings.

An example of the Japanese sense of affinity to Goethe is the title of a publication by the Goethe enthusiast K. Mitsui, *Chichi to shite no Goethe*, (Goethe as father).

•On 22 March Goethe died at 83; and today on 22 March I am 83.•

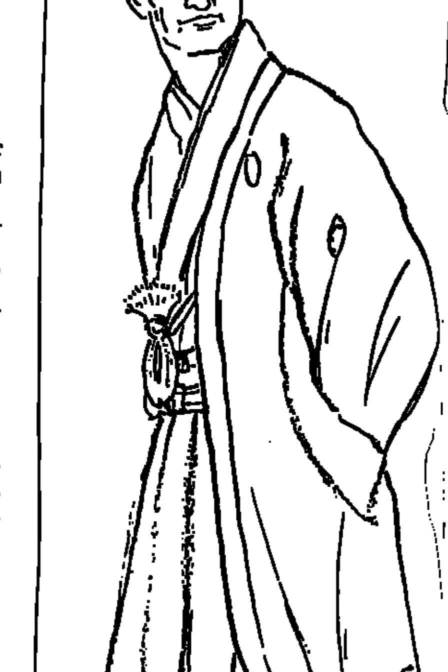
There is also a poem written in Japan some years ago by the 83-year-old former mayor of the Japanese temple city of Nikko, which reads: On 22 March Goethe/died at 83;/ and today on 22 March/I am 83.

Japanese, knowledgeable about Goethe, asked about the reasons for the spiritual "affinities," public and secret, between the Japanese and Goethe's thought, name a whole list of relationships that can be summed up as follows: Goethe corresponds to the ideals of the Japanese mentality to a considerable extent.

There are key ideas such as Goethe's objective thought, his avoidance of theorising, his pantheistic piousness, his frankness and tolerance.

Are the Japanese looked upon as born syncretists and Goethe the patron of syncretism?

Japanese, well versed in Goethe, turn to Goethe's belated words to Alexander von Humboldt: "The best genius is that which assimilates everything, that knows how to appropriate everything to itself without doing harm to the true basic conditions that are called character. . ."



Goethe in kimono and geta

Other parallels are also cited, for instance Goethe's courtesy, his deep respect for virtue and his gratitude, that appears as a character of the social feelings of the Japanese, influenced by the Confucian ethic.

Others include the Japanese philosophy of life, that prizes the present and the eternity of the moment. The Japanese see in Goethe's occasional poems characteristic features of the Japanese lyric forms of the haiku and tanka.

In the land of the kamikaze and the samurai it is hardly surprising that there is special sympathy for the epistolary novel *Werther*, the result of Goethe's disappointed love for Charlotte Buff although basically a study in pathological sensitivity.

Kinji Kimura, Kogawa's mentor, as a Buddhist, had no difficulty bringing together the Faust solutions of thought with its echo of Buddhist teaching in the divinity of mercy and compassion.

Some years ago Goethe expert Shinichi Hoshino, in a similar manner, came upon relationships between Goethe's thought and feelings in important insights of Zen and Mahayana Buddhism.

There are also links to be found in Goethe's thought and Shintoism with its cleansing ceremonies when Faust, in the second part of the tragedy, finds convalescence in the "graceful region" in the dew of forgetfulness and forgiving.

Germanist Naoji Kimura confirmed that Goethe is not forgotten in Japan in a lecture at the Düsseldorf Goethe Museum in 1983. He said: "I can assure you that the Japanese are ever grateful to Goethe, the spiritual representative of Germany."

Manfred Osten

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 October 1987)

■ FILMS

Regina Ziegler — profile of a prolific producer

Germany's most prolific film producer, Regina Ziegler, says she prefers to be versatile rather than specialised.

Frau Ziegler, who has produced about 80 films in her 14-year career, says she doesn't fit into any of the pigeon holes of the German film industry.

She illustrates this versatility by saying: "I'm prepared to cooperate with Peter Stein, Luc Bondy, Hans Neuenfels, or even a producer such as Krzysztof Zanussi, and then I'll produce pure entertainment or work on programmes for children. I regard the last as important."

The latest result of her increased interest in children's programmes is the television series *Spree-Piraten*.

Frau Zieger heads the Schöneberg Company, a small company which employs five people. Her concern for contents and the variety of her work has particular advantages in her work with television that has increased considerably over the past three to four years.

But her closer cooperation with television has economic and artistic reasons behind it. She makes no secret of the fact that the survival of her company as a pure production company for feature-length films depended on cooperation with television.

Had she not followed this course she would have had to have done one project after another and got it ready for screening. Inevitably this has its effects on artistic quality.

"I would love to have enough time to leave a script alone for a while or at least to work on it until it has matured. But the investment system for films in this country does not encourage that. You have to live from hand to mouth."

A glance at the latest Ziegler productions and the projects she has in hand shows how productive her cooperation with television stations has been.

She is making or has made for the Second Television Channel Wolf Gremm's *Hexenschuß* (from a book by John Graham) and *Dem Tod auf der Spur*, from a book by Herbert Rosendorfer.

When *Hexenschuß* was screened it had the astonishing viewer audience of 20 million, according to *Medien Telegramm* of Munich.

Last Easter Verdi's *Otello*, a BBC coproduction of the National Welsh Opera's production directed by Peter Stein, was shown on television in this country.

Other productions for television include Peter Keglevic's *Das ungleiche Paar*, Krzysztof Zanussi's *Erloschene Zeiten* and the recording of Andrzej Wajda's stage production of *Schuld und Sühne*, along with the children's film *Schummle ich, schummelst du*, from a book by Klaus Peter Wolf.

Can adequate attention be given to individual projects in such a wide-ranging programme? What does Frau Ziegler herself regard as the most important aspect of her activities as a producer? And how much influence should a producer have on the film director?

Question after question can be asked but Frau Ziegler has an answer, a view, on all of them.

"I want to be involved up to the first day of shooting. From then on the director must be able to make his film," she said.

"There are some directors who want me to be on location as often as possible. I always look at the first rushes, of course."

Has she had some astonishing surprises at the cutting table, scene sequences that did not fit in with her ideas?

She answered this by saying: "If the material turns out not quite the way I saw it, one does not have to be negative about it. It can still be exciting."

During shooting she endeavours to make a small contribution to the end result.

She added: "In my offices here we have rooms for actors to make up and try on their costumes. They do not have to do so in the street or a dressing-room container.

It is important for a producer to have a chat with the actors in the early days of production. One has to try and create a good atmosphere."

A successful, international woman producer has to deal with a number of ancillary matters that can sometimes be pleasant and sometimes quite the opposite.

After Krzysztof Zanussi's film *Im Jahr der aufgehenden Sonne* won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival in 1984 and the Ziegler production *Die Reise* by Markus Imhoof was chosen for the competition in 1986 Regina Ziegler was asked to sit on the jury at the Lido this year.

A success at a film festival such as Zanussi had does not guarantee for the producer success in her homeland.

She said with some bitterness and some mockery in her voice: "I've sold Zanussi's film all over the world, but I can't find a distributor here. Perhaps this is no accident. The film has been loaded with praise by critics and audiences alike but it deals with Nazi atrocities against Allied prisoners-of-war in occupied Poland."



Versatile: Regina Ziegler

She does not exclude similar acts of exclusion by silence from distributors, but at the present she is very busy with her work as a producer.

There are enormous risks that have to be taken in producing films. The sums of money involved are colossal.

She said: "Film-making is dependent on any number of imponderables, beginning with the weather. So far I've always been lucky with the weather."

Jochen Metzner

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 11 October 1987)



Tony Curtis, Katharina Thalbach and director Thomas Brasch in Berlin to present 'Last Call, Mister Cornfield.' (Photo: dpa)

Director Thomas Brasch takes another look at the past

Director Thomas Brasch is making a film about a man who comes to Europe, to Germany, to make a film about his sense of guilt.

The man is Jewish, of Hungarian origin but now an American citizen. He was in Berlin once before, 45 years ago, but now, in 1987, this man, named Cornfield, wants to make a film about what should have been filmed in 1942.

Thomas Brasch was born in England in 1945 and grew up in East Germany. His parents were Jewish emigrants. He attended the East Berlin film college at Babelsberg.

He describes his work as, "an attempt to describe the possibilities and limits of an art, the aesthetic and political dimensions of memory and the transformation from victim to culprit."

He has battered his head against his theme for the past ten years or more. He discovered in a 1940 confidential communication from the Goebbels propaganda ministry that Polish Jews from a ghetto acted in Veit Harlan's film *Jud Süß*.

No mention could be made that Jewish extras had worked in this film then — criticism was not permitted anyway.

What promises, what threats were made to get them in front of the camera? But most important of all what happened to them? Where they went to from the film can be guessed at with a fair degree of certainty.

Thomas Brasch, assisted by Jurek Becker, has written the script himself. The working title was *Last Call, Mister Cornfield*, but this has been changed to *Welcome to Germany*.

He has 13 Jewish extras act in an anti-semitic Nazi propaganda film. They have been recruited from a concentration camp and been promised that they can emigrate to Switzerland. (Would the Swiss have accepted them?)

The promise is broken. Cornfield, one of the 13, still feels guilty; he prevented a friend escaping because of his anxiety.

Forty-two years later Cornfield comes back to Berlin from America. He mourns in his own way by attempting to reconstruct what happened. He tries to recreate the unforgettable in a film.

He wants to come to terms with his past, see his mistakes, work off his sense of guilt, if this is possible, whatever the success of his experiment.

At an appointment fixed by Brasch himself he spoke little about his film. He is prepared only to answer questions in a large gathering from those who have no link to the material, who only have a rough outline of it, people who could not have read the script.

Brasch was very buttoned-up about his film all round.

There was a tense atmosphere after the shots he showed to illustrate his film, or better put, to show what his film was about without using words.

Brasch seems to be following a stringent form after the realism of *Engels aus Eisen* of 1981, his first film in the Federal Republic, and the stylised *Domino*, made in 1982.

The cast is interestingly international. Tony Curtis plays Cornfield, the man who comes back to Europe temporarily.

Alexandra Stewart, seen in many New Wave films, acts as his wife. Mathias Habich is the director of the Nazi propaganda film, big, blond and dangerous.

Other parts are taken by Katharina Thalbach, Karin Baal, Charles Regnier and George Tabori.

The camera is in the hands of Axel Block, a graduate from the Munich film college.

The film is being shot in Berlin and supported by the film promotion institute and from public funds.

Even though Thomas Brasch is reserved about the film it is obvious that it concerns a theme that is very controversial about the German past as it was played out in Berlin.

The inclusion of Jurek Becker as co-script writer guarantees that it will be critical.

He did the script for Frank Beyer's *Jakob, der Lügner* of 1975 and for Peter Lilienthal's *David*, both successful at the Berlinale.

Becker was born in Lodz, suffered the ghetto and the concentration camp.

He has called much of his work for films as "an act of mourning."

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 11 October 1987)

■ ENVIRONMENT

To incinerate or to recycle? Where the garbage goes

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Garbage is a product for which there is zero demand and an ever-growing supply. No-one wants it yet each of us contributes a statistical average 375kg (825lb) of household refuse toward the annual pile.

Industrial and commercial waste, waste from building sites, sewage works and hospitals — it all adds up to over 80 million tonnes a year.

This mountain has to be left somewhere or other, and preferably not just anywhere, as most would now agree. Garbage dumped as it still is can be a serious environmental hazard.

The blockade of garbage incineration in the North Sea by Greenpeace and Danish fishermen illustrates the dilemma yet again.

Waste disposal at sea is governed by two international agreements, signed in Oslo and London, both in 1972.

The Oslo convention goes by the full name Agreement on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Ships and Aircraft, the London convention by that of Agreement on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by the Dumping of Waste and Other Substances.

They took effect for the Federal Republic of Germany at the end of 1977, since when legislation has prohibited dumping of waste at sea when its disposal is possible on land.

The German Hydrographical Institute, Hamburg, is responsible for the supervision of waste taken out to sea on board German ships or from German ports.

It only grants permission once the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, has checked whether the waste might not be disposed of on land.

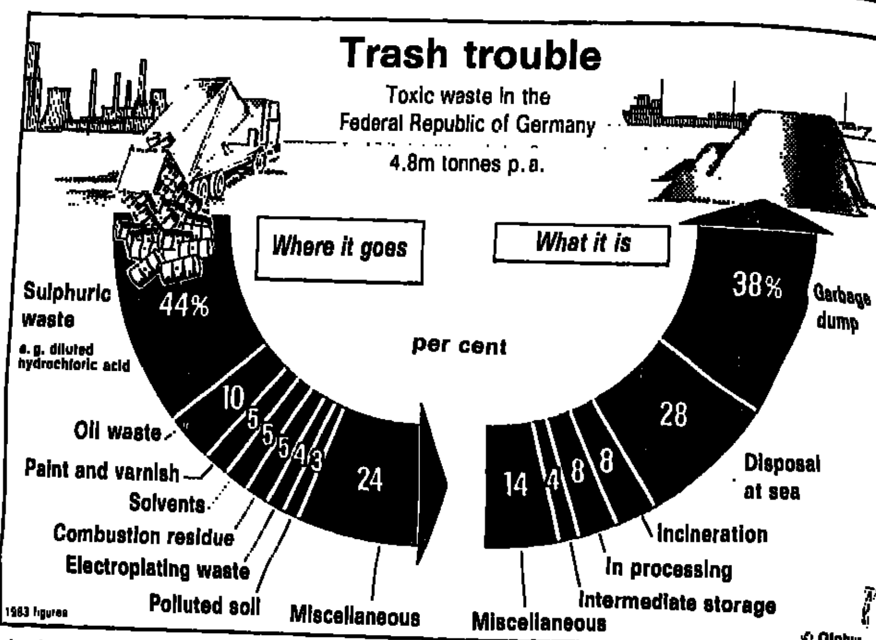
The incineration of dioxins or polychlorinated biphenyls, which release dioxins during incineration, is strictly prohibited.

Substances that are incinerated at sea include chlorinated hydrocarbons. They are liquids that have generally been used as solvents.

The incinerator ships *Vesta* and *Vulkanus II* handle up to 120,000 tonnes a year, well over half of which is from the Federal Republic of Germany.

In many cases the hydrocarbons incinerated were used as degreasants or for surface treatment of products at small or medium-sized German factories. The remainder comes from other European countries.

When chlorinated hydrocarbons are incinerated at high temperatures the main by-products are steam and carbon dioxide. But they can also include hydrochloric acid gas and, depending on



the industrial use to which they were put and the degree of impurity, heavy metals.

The hydrochloric acid is swiftly diluted by sea water and thus does less damage than on land. So incineration at sea is arguably the lesser evil in this case.

Yet the North Sea has been misused as a waste dump for far too long, others argue. They say the burden of pollution must definitely be eased.

Besides, better incinerators could be built on land and fitted out with more effective emission filters.

Chlorinated hydrocarbon waste could certainly be incinerated on land, using special equipment and facilities. It is technically feasible.

But no-one wants to know, and least of all about the idea of locating such an incinerator anywhere near where they live.

Existing facilities are hopelessly overburdened. Solvents account for a relatively insignificant one per cent of waste classified as "subject to special supervision."

About five million tonnes of waste a year come in this category, and experts expect the amount to increase rapidly no matter how much care is taken to limit output or to process waste in this category.

Growing environmental awareness is a contributory factor. We now know, for instance, that domestic garbage is not always as harmless as it might seem.

Used batteries or old medicine, solvents, paint and the coolant in old refrigerators are among the most problematic waste there is, and they require particularly careful treatment.

Then there are all the substances that for decades were pumped into rivers and lakes or sent up smokestacks into the air we breathe but are now filtered out beforehand.

These toxic substances have to be dealt with in some way or another. They *must be destroyed, processed or stored* in such a manner as to ensure that they will not come home to roost on future generations.

Existing garbage dumps can take up to about 80 million cubic metres of special waste. At the present rate, says the EPA, they can cope with the situation for the next 10 to 15 years.

The main substances that are allowed to be dumped in this way are anorganic solids. Organic substances can be broken down and at least reduced in volume by incineration or pyrolysis.

This process leaves behind toxic ash or slack.

Highly toxic waste that cannot be incinerated is stored underground at Herfa-Neurode, which can take an estimated 40,000 tonnes a year for another decade.

German Environment Ministers feel at least 10 new special waste incinerators are needed. North Rhine-Westphalia has tried for seven years to build an incinerator for polychlorinated solvents in Essen. But no-one wants it near where they live, so planning permission has yet to be granted.

One alternative would be *to ban such substances entirely, but that would probably lead to them being* disposed of illegally.

Solvents pumped illegally into soil or water can be particularly devastating, effectively and lastingly polluting the ground water.

So does that perhaps bring us full circle, leaving only the option of incineration at sea? Not, necessarily, even that.

Waste incinerated in the North Sea is at present taken on board in Antwerp, the only port with suitable storage facilities.

But Belgium, sick and tired of being pilloried for aiding and abetting pollution, has yet to extend the permit, which expired on 4 October.

Bonn Environment Ministry officials hope an extension will be granted soon, but it is unlikely to be for very long.

In the long term incineration at sea may be unnecessary — if waste is either reprocessed or not produced in the first place.

This is the approach adopted in the latest version of the Waste Disposal Act, now styled Avoidance and Disposal of Waste Act.

The aim is either not to produce waste or at least to process it whenever it is technically possible and financially reasonable to expect producers to do so — and when a market exists for the resulting product.

A model example along these lines should soon benefit the North Sea, where waste is both incinerated and pumped straight into the water.

The Federal Republic accounts for roughly one million tonnes of diluted acid pumped annually into the North Sea. It is diluted sulphuric acid, a by-product of titanium dioxide manufacture.

Disposal at sea came in for trenchant criticism several years ago, but manufacturers were unable and unwilling to stop making titanium dioxide.

It is a tough, non-toxic white dye with a wide range of uses. It is used in car paint, textiles, paper, rubber and toothpaste.

So the authorities and the three manufacturers set out to devise a national disposal concept, including uses for the by-products ferrous sulphate (or green vitriol) and low-grade sulphuric acid.

Ferrous sulphate has not been pumped into the North Sea since 1983.

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■ MEDICINE

Trier spotlights international progress, German neglect of psychosomatics

DIE ZEIT

Anatomists, physiologists, neurologists, pharmacologists, epidemiologists, biologists and psychologists attended a recent five-day congress at Trier University. What, one might wonder, was their common denominator?

Medical research, of course. Neuronal Control of Body Functions: Basics and Clinical Aspects, to be precise.

Neuro? Why yes, nerves. How the nerves control body functions? Via the brain, of course. Interaction of mind and body, psyche and soma?

Basic research into psychosomatics, or the study of physical diseases having an emotional origin, to cut a long story short.

Psychosomatics is for those who take seriously the incontrovertible fact that the mind and soul do not belong to another supernatural world and that there is a material basis to everything that goes on in them.

Scientific methods are used in a quest to determine how specific experiences affect body functions and, conversely, how the body can affect the mind.

It is a quest for the slots or interfaces by which the two seemingly so different and distinctive spheres communicate.

To take the wind out of the gusts of protest that are regularly levelled at this approach, let it be said from the outset that "material basis" does not mean the mind is nothing but body.

It is evidently a matter of different levels, but the higher strata are based on all lower ones and never at odds with them.

Microbiological terminology may not include, say, the soul — but it covers everything the soul comprises.

It is not yet capable of fully describing or explaining mental processes even though what goes on in organs, cells and molecules of the neural systems may have been decoded.

Even so, a plan of the machinery, as it were, can shed a most interesting light on how the system operates. Without one, speculation on how it works could be wildly inaccurate.

As for the material level being somehow or other "primitive" in comparison with the mental one, that is an assertion which can only be made by someone unaware of the complexity of physical mechanisms.

Scientific research on the mind or soul, a project that is still in its early days, is probably one of the most far-reaching and complex ventures ever undertaken. It includes the quest for interfaces between body and mind.

So one might have imagined that specialists in psychosomatics would have been out in force at the Trier congress, this interface being their stock in trade, as it were.

Not they. German specialists in psychosomatics were conspicuous by their total absence, and not for nothing.

All, or nearly all, chairs of psychosomatic studies in the Federal Republic are held by specialists in depth psychology.

Depth psychologists specialise in interpretation. They interpret a physical occurrence in terms of a past mental experience, attributing colitis, say, to a forgotten childhood trauma.

They are most reluctant to depart from this level of argument. Most of them are not accustomed to wondering how an experience is communicated to the colon. They leave that to the schoolmen they generally mistrust (and who generally mistrust them).

This isn't just a private hobby-horse. Let me quote from a 1986 survey by the Scientific Research Council:

"In recent decades chairs of psychosomatic medicine and psychotherapy have been established at all medical faculties in the Federal Republic of Germany ... The discipline thus developed at an extraordinarily fast rate ...

"The predominantly psychoanalytical orientation at the outset of institutionalisation led to the majority of teaching staff being analytically-oriented psychotherapists. Medical or clinical, psycho-physiological and epidemiological aspects are not represented in sufficient quantity."

Psychosomatic specialists disagreed vehemently, arguing that: "It is true that experimental psycho-physiological research is hardly represented at psychosomatics and psychotherapy departments.

"If clinical research is felt to deserve priority, then experimental (psycho-physiological) research cannot come first and foremost."

In other words, we don't go in for it and it doesn't interest us. That was why German specialists in psychosomatic medicine did not attend the Trier gathering.

They would not have had anything to say. It might well have been for them to lend the grand design a helping hand, but they quit from the outset.

To use the plain words of research policy, German psychosomatics has lost touch with international research — and done so as a matter of principle.

What they have lost touch with proved at Trier to be nothing spectacular, at least not in terms of grand theories or models. It was merely painstakingly researched pieces in the larger jigsaw puzzle.

There were so many that there can be no question of listing them all. Two are here mentioned arbitrarily.

Ingeborg Ward, a psychologist at Villanova University, Pennsylvania, told the congress about her experiments with mice.

When a mouse is exposed, in the final week of pregnancy, to the stress of bright light such as mice dislike, the male young demonstrate totally abnormal sexual behaviour as adults.

Their desire to mount female mice in the normal manner seems to be almost non-existent. Instead they cower as though they themselves were females.

They look absolutely normal and cannot be confused with female mice in other behaviour.

Yet the stress to which their mothers were subjected at a critical stage of pregnancy has led to them having little inclination to mate.

How come? In male mammals, including mice, the reproductive glands start working a few days before birth. Morphologically, their sex has long since been clear, but at this stage the sex hormone testosterone is released into the blood.

The glands then hibernate, as it were, and aren't reactivated until the mouse reaches maturity.

This prenatal hormone input from the male sex glands reaches the brain and is responsible for the typical imprint of male sex behaviour.

The imprint is suppressed by the prenatal stress suffered by the pregnant mother, and scientists even have a shrewd idea how it is suppressed biochemically.

That, then, is what happens to mice. Can any inferences be drawn about humans? The results of experiments with laboratory animals don't necessarily apply to humans, and experiments on human guinea pigs are banned.

But basic regulatory mechanisms are the same for all mammals. Besides, there are clear signs that the male human foetus is also subjected toward the end of pregnancy to an input of sex hormones that at least makes a partial mark on the subsequent mental attitude toward sex.

So this pointer is worth following. If prenatal hormones partially determine mental sex characteristics, little is to be gained by assessing male and female characteristics solely in terms of education, upbringing, training or conditioning.

David Felten is a neuro-anatomist at Rochester University, New York. He is particularly interested in the immune system, the armada of cells on standby in the body to attack and repulse or immobilise alien micro-organisms and cell tissue.

He was awarded the MacArthur Prize for his work. It is worth $250,000 and is one of the supreme accolades for an American artist or scientist.

His discovery, in a nutshell, was that lymphocytes are linked by "fixed wiring" to the autonomous nervous system.

Lasting mental stress has long been known to weaken the immune response. It makes us more liable to contract all manner of infections.

It probably plays a part in auto-immune disturbances such as gastric ulcers, high blood pressure, colitis and arthritis. All are complaints in which the immune response gets its wires crossed and attacks the body's own cells and not alien intruders.

But how does mental anguish find its way into the mobile cells of the immune system? Not long ago everyone would have been open to ridicule for as much as suggesting it might.

Lymphocytes, a kind of leucocyte, or white corpuscle, formed in the lymph gland and spleen, may be characterised as the aircraft carriers of the immune system.

They lie in waiting, and a specific variety of lymphocyte is sent into action as soon as certain kinds of intruder appear. Its task is to search and destroy.

Lymphocytes come in two categories. The B cells generate antibodies that decompose the alien organisms. The T cells start to multiply at an enormous rate.

T cell clones both descend on the intruders and stimulate the B cells. Once the battle is won we are healthy again.

In Felten's superbly clear microscopic mouse spleen preparations we can see them: spherical objects that swim like ships in liquid.

They aren't the exciting discovery. That distinction goes to the fine ends of the autonomous nerve system that extend like supply lines round the T cells' harbour.

They release a neuro-transmitter, noradrenalin, for which Felten says the T cells have special receptors.

Conversely, in certain circumstances they emit substances that find their way into the brain, where they are "read." So lymphocytes and nerve systems even exchange signals.

Felten and his staff used chemicals to eliminate the autonomous nerve ends in the spleen. Noradrenalin promptly vanished, lymphocyte activity plummeted to between two and three per cent of the normal level and the immune response was virtually paralysed.

No-one yet knows which conditions of the autonomous nervous system activate what orders to the lymphocyte fleet. But the fact that a bridge has been identified is a great, if initial, step forward.

It may even have clinical repercussions. One of the very few German research scientists in this sector, Trier University psychologist Dirk Hellhammer, a founding member of the Neuronal Control of Body Functions group and organiser of the Trier congress, is at present working on a hunch.

He feels lymphocytes may normally be kept in a state of constant standby, or tonic activation, as he calls it, by the autonomous nervous system.

Could it be that long and powerful stress uses up the noradrenalin with which the lymphocytes would otherwise be supplied?

If this is the case, ought not people be advised, in stress situations of their own choosing, to take a periodic break for their immune response's sake and to enable noradrenalin stocks in their lymphatic organs to be replenished?

Might the heavy noradrenalin requirement in stress situations not be met half-way by a dose of tyrosin, not a drug but an amino acid found in small quantities in food and from which the body produces its noradrenalin supply?

No-one yet knows. Experiments must be carried out before we can tell. They will at least do no harm. This is one approach, and a rational one.

Dieter E. Zimmer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 October 1987)

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It is now used to purify drinking-water and to destroy moss, while the sulphuric acid is to be concentrated and recycled for industrial use.

The foundation stone for a factory in which it is to be processed was laid a few months ago.

Another was due to start work at the end of October.

By 1989 no more sulphuric acid should be pumped into the North Sea. That surely sets an example and sounds a note of hope.

Caroline Möhring

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 October 1987)

■ WOMEN

Night shift and motherhood are not ideally matched

Approximately 600,000 women work on night shifts in West Germany despite the fact that it is strictly speaking illegal for them to do so.

The official view is that women are not as suited for night work as men.

Industrial doctors and lawmakers introduced this prohibition because, they maintained, the female of the species has physical disadvantages and tires more quickly than the male. Besides, working at night breaks up the family unit.

The regulations specify that firms that operate shifts cannot employ women at work between ten in the evening and six in the morning.

Renate Färber, 25, said: "There are only disadvantages in it for me to work nights." She has been working for the past two years as an assistant nurse in a Cologne old people's home — solely on the night shift.

Her work schedule is seven nights on and seven nights off.

She is separated and is bringing up Sabrina, 6, and her four-year-old son Jan alone.

She said: "It's easier to find people willing to look after the children at night. And, of course, the kids are as-

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

leep most of the time so they don't notice that I'm away."

Before she had the children she worked on a factory production line. "I don't have time to go to work during the day any more," she said.

"In the factory the working hours are from seven in the morning to four in the afternoon. Where could I leave the children while I'm at work? The kindergarten opens at eight and the children have to be picked up at four. That would mean I would have to leave work at 3.30 at the latest," she added.

The cost of leaving a child in the kindergarten is DM680 a month. "I just can't afford that, and anyway I wouldn't earn much more in the factory than I do now," she said.

She earns DM93.50 per night as an untrained nurse, including DM13.50 additional pay for the night shift.

She works with Margit Beckers, a trained nursing sister. She also looked for night work after her daughter was born a year ago.

Margit, 23, explained: "There is always someone there to look after her. My husband cares for her during the night and I'm there during the day."

As these examples show there are plenty of exceptions to the rule against women working at night — nurses, postal service employees and people working in pubs and restaurants, for example.

Furthermore the factory inspectorate can authorise exceptions, which is done in the case of packing up freshly-baked bread from three in the morning onwards, for instance, and when the employer can cite "important economic reasons" for night work.

Free Democrat general secretary Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer said that the regulations were full of holes, in fact. She said that most women workers came into the exceptions for night work.

The regulations are only applied fully in industrial trades, traditionally men's jobs in fact.

Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer said that in these jobs there was not only a bar to women working at nights but a barrier to women getting the jobs anyway. Equal opportunities for men and women mean equal opportunities on the labour market. She said limitations on employment would have to be lifted.

These demands come at just the right time for employers. Working three shifts a day is advantageous for them. Amortisation costs for new production plant can be met quicker.

The jobs that women do in factories during the day involve mainly light, monotonous work, taken on by men only with reluctance.

Officials at the Bonn Employment Ministry are currently considering how the labour regulations, dating from 1938, can be changed. But state secretary Wolfgang Vogt (CDU) does not want to lift the present protection measures rashly.

Marliese Dobberthien, secretary for women's affairs in the West German Trades Union Federation (DGB), is well aware that the regulations governing working conditions for women, such as night work, are based more on patriarchal prejudices than on labour medicine considerations.

Nevertheless her demands go in quite a different direction to those made by the FDP general secretary.

Along with her colleague, Irmgard Blättel, a member of the DGB national executive, she demands an extension of the prohibition on night work to include men.

She maintains that night shifts should only be permitted in exceptional cases: in old people's homes and hospitals, for instance, or when, for technical reasons, a night shift cannot be avoided as in the case of a blast furnace, for example, that cannot be shut down at night.

Industrial doctors claim that men who have to work at night suffer from disturbed sleep, chronic stomach and intestinal ailments and an increase in heart and circulatory maladies, to name but a few health hazards, and a high accident risk at the work place.

And this despite the fact that men can make up for the loss of sleep during the day. When a husband returns home from a night shift his wife makes sure that the children are quiet and do not disturb the family bread-winner.

Women who work at nights have to arrange for their sleep according to the children.

Renate Färber said: "When I get home from work I have breakfast with the children and sleep three hours or so in the morning. Then I go shopping, get lunch ready and lie down for a little while in the afternoon."

But she is not undisturbed during these few hours of rest. "I can discon-

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Brownie points for men who learn housework

"I can manage the washing machine, but ironing defeats me," said pensioner Josef M.

He decided to learn to iron and, with five other men between the ages of 25 and 65, joined the first housework course for men put on by the Mothers' Centre in Langen.

Martin B. said that he could never learn to iron from his wife. She repeatedly told him that he would never learn to do it.

For four evenings the men are shown how they can clean windows, clean the carpets, do the laundry, clean the bath and toilet and make the beds, without using too much energy and without harming the environment.

One course member said: "Women get trained for men's jobs so why should not men learn to do women's work?"

This idea started of the course, according to Margit Jansen of the Mothers' Centre.

From their own experience women know that it is difficult for men to learn about housework from their own wives.

One wife said: "Wives are often impatient. Men are more prepared to learn from another woman."

The women at the Centre believe that it should be a matter of course for men to help with the house chores, but only 20 per cent of men in the Federal Republic help with the housework.

A survey carried out by a women's magazine showed that 84 per cent of men had never done the ironing, 79 per cent had never done the laundry and 73 per cent never cleaned the windows.

Margit Jansen said women were disproportionately burdened with housework, particularly if they went out to work as well.

W. Knecht

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 20 October 1987)

Get used to idea of living alone in old age, women are told

Psychologist and gerontologist Ursula Lehr advises young girls to get used now to the idea that when they are middle-aged and old they will probably be alone.

It is a sad truth that in the Federal Republic elderly women are very much alone, according to a survey that Ursula Lehr has prepared for the Bonn government.

The number of women living alone will increase considerably in the next few years. At present 23 per cent of women in this country over the age of 60 live alone. By the year 2030 it will be 35 per cent.

By 1990 for every 100 men over the age of 60 there will be 206 women.

Ursula Lehr said: "More and more old women must live alone, without a husband and not with their children."

In the past the roles of mother and grandmother were indistinguishable. But now at the age of 40 the role of mother ends. It is usual for the first grandchildren to appear ten years later.

Ursula Lehr maintains that the problem of being alone comes to women now at 40. She sees only one solution to this situation: women must look for activities outside the family.

Apart from a job this could include work in an association, society or a charity.

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 September 1987)

Rape victims often misread the situation

Crime experts in this country believe that a woman is raped every ten minutes in West Germany.

More often than not help comes to these women too late and the rapist gets away.

The Federal CID (BKA) in Wiesbaden has taken on Dr Michael C. Baurmann, a psychologist, to help fight back against this crime.

He has set in motion a campaign against sex criminals. He said that most women did not know how to defend themselves from sex attacks.

"Many sex criminals come from their victims' neighbourhood. In many cases they are known to the women," Baurmann said.

The better the criminal and victim know each other the greater the likelihood that violence will be used.

A typical situation is a young girl who goes to a disco on Saturday evening and who looks for a lift to get home.

She meets a young man who went to school with her. He gives her a lift — and makes a sex attack.

Baurmann said: "The attack could have been avoided if the woman had weighed up the situation correctly and in good time."

An extensive BKA investigation of 8,000 cases over a period of four years confirmed that the victims had not considered the situation properly in most cases, out of a lack of attention or naivety.

Two vital pre-conditions for defence against a sexual attack are:

— the confidence of the potential victim in her own strength;

— the ability to deploy adequate means of defending oneself, psychological and physical, effectively.

According to Baurmann women who have taken courses in self-defence always say that they are shy of defending themselves physically against a man, even to pushing him off in the first place.

Baurmann continued: "A vital element of these courses is using psychological and physical means of defence together."

A short course of self-defence or learning various grips from books does not help much. Quite the contrary, in fact. Grips done in an amateurish manner get many women into even more dangerous situations, Baurmann said.

He recommends that women should not get into a car after an evening's entertainment with a number of men whether she knows them or not, but go with people whose support she can depend on.

When hitching a lift it can happen that the inner door-handle in a car or the safety catch have been taken out.

There are any number of items and preparations on the German market that should give women protection from attacks, sex attacks particularly.

There are whistles and "shrill alarms" that can be carried in the pocket, sensitivity gases in sprays, gas pistols and many more items besides.

According to Baurmann these articles contribute to the idea anxious women have that they can buy protection.

This means that many women forget to be self-assured and watchful. That is the first mistake.

Andreas Engel

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 October 1987)

■ CHILDREN

Berlin has first refuge for battered babes



About 10,000 children are seriously maltreated every year. That is the known figure. Most cases don't come to light.

The German society for the protection of children estimates that 300,000 children a year are either emotionally or physically maltreated or sexually abused.

It says the horror acts include tying children down in bed, sitting them on a hot oven, burning them with cigarettes, pouring scalding water over them and holding them under water.

In cases where abuse is discovered and a child is put in a home, the brothers and sister still at home remain in danger. Now both the Bonn government and the society are trying to promote ways of helping the entire family.

Six centres already exist to deal with maltreated children: in Berlin, Bremen, Gütersloh, Cologne, Mainz and Munich. They offer advice and treatment, but only the Berlin centre is also a refuge where children can stay.

Michael Sturm is 6. Five years ago he lay in hospital with a lung infection and emaciated from lack of food. All his ribs were broken. The diagnosis: rickets and malnutrition.

Renate Sturm, then 21, had just had her fourth child; her husband, Wolfgang, was out of work. She was under enormous strain.

Tom Levold, a therapist at the society's Cologne centre, and another worker at the centre took up the case. Today, the family seems to have come through the crisis. It gives the impression of being intact in spite of financial difficulties: a slightly weak but loving father, a mother with never-ending patience, and chubby-cheeked children.

One child is missing — Melanie, 4. She was born with a heart defect and neither the doctors nor the authorities thought the family were in a position to look after her properly. She was allocated to a foster family which wants to adopt her.

The Sturms feel they are now able to look after Melanie and for three years they have been locked in a legal battle for custody. It appears they have resigned themselves to losing the case.

Because sending children to foster families and children's homes often creates a fait accompli, the society is attempting to set up centres where children can be allocated, with the approval of their parents, on a short-term basis, until their home situation improves.

This is where the Berlin centre comes in. It is financed by the Berlin city administration and is regarded as a model for future centres.

Parents who allow their children to be sent to the centre can be sure that he or she will not be suddenly taken away. Case data remains secret.

And word is getting around. More and more parents are making contact with the centre of their own free will.

The centre has specially trained staff because experience has shown that people without special training are often unable to cope with the demands posed by children who have been through traumatic experiences.

The children suppress their emotions and are overanxious to please adults. They don't say much because they are afraid of saying the wrong thing. Because they are afraid of doing something wrong, they become apathetic. Some become aggressive.

Mishandled and neglected children are generally fond of the very people who abuse them and they tend to blame themselves for anything that happens. They are afraid that the family will be split up and that it will be their fault. They lose self esteem. These feelings can exert an strong influence all their lives.

Case histories reveal the patterns clearly enough. When six-year-old Stefan Renz was due to go to school, he went for the mandatory medical examination. He weighed barely more than a three-year-old and his body was covered in blue marks. His mother said he was an unruly child and had fallen down the stairs while playing.

But the doctor thought otherwise. He told the child welfare authority in Cologne, but a social worker was unable to get access to the family.

She was only able to discover that the parents, Horst and Susanne Renz, were considered respectable people. But no one knew any more because the family kept to itself.

Stefan and his two younger sisters were not allowed to go to kindergarten. Nor were they allowed to play outside. The parents were afraid of the social consequences of the children mixing.

Levold described the family: "Their view of the world is strongly religious and rigid. Children must honour their father and mother and he who loves his son must punish him when he does something wrong."

The parents could not prevent Stefan's going to school. But they became stricter. The teacher noticed that Stefan became more and more aggressive towards his classmates.

One day Stefan was taken to hospital with a broken arm. This time, the parents said Stefan's four-year-old sister had done it. Stefan himself, like most maltreated children, said nothing.

The youth authorities threatened the parents with a challenge to their right to custody if they didn't seek advice from the centre. Horst and Susanne Renz went belatedly to the centre, but it was too late. Stefan was allowed out of hospital but not back home. A court ordered that he be sent to a home.

Case workers looked at the background: Susanne Renz had grown up without a father and her mother staggered from one relationship to another. The child had been sent to a home at an early age.

A person who goes through such an experience often dreams of a tight family circle where everybody loves everybody else without the slightest doubt and where everyone stands firm against the big bad world outside.

Levold explains: "There is also a fear of talking over difficulties and feelings with the partner. This fear is greater than the fear of violence by the partner."

If a spouse or one of the children does not play the proper part in the fulfilment of this dream, the silence can erupt into violence and feelings of resignation can lead to neglect.

Especially endangered are those children who least meet the exaggerated expectations of parents: the handicapped, the chronically ill, the prematurely born, the unruly and the unattractive.

Time and time again, offending parents say they only want to do the best for their children so they will have it easier in life than they, the parents, have had.

Many factors contribute towards the likelihood of outbreaks of violence: a cramped apartment, shortage of money, illness, problems at work, unsatisfactory performances at school, insufficient social contact.

The aim of the Berlin centre is to halt the vicious circle of powerless leading to violence that can carry over from generation to generation.

The centre aims to defuse the situation in the home by its function as a refuge. It offers both long-term advice and practical help such as assistance in the search for a larger apartment.

During the child's recovery, the parents learn to discover and talk about what has happened, what they themselves have suffered and why, and to change their pattern of behaviour.

About half the children taken to the Berlin centre eventually return home. If this is not possible, an alternative is agreed on by centre specialists together with the parents.

Ulrike Walden

(Kolner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 20 October 1987)

Boys and girls don't trust adults to keep the peace

Bremer Nachrichten

Children start thinking about war and peace at an early age, say two Hamburg scientists. Hanne-Margret Birkenbach and Christoph Sure of the institute for peace research and security politics in Hamburg have examined 144 letters sent by German children to President Reagan and Soviet party chief Gorbachov.

The researchers say that two thirds of all children are afraid of nuclear war and don't believe that adults can prevent such a war. This supports findings in other countries.

The letters were addressed to both leaders and sent during an international peace campaign.

The researchers say they were surprised at how often children referred to their fears. One boy wrote: "The arms race isn't doing anything for anybody. It is only causing fear and horror." A girl wrote: "We Europeans are likely to be the first killed."

Birkenbach and Sure say parents should take seriously the fears of their children. They say children who talk intensively about the reasons for peace and war learn to handle their fears better than those left alone with their thoughts.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 2 October 1987)

All-party Bonn ombudsman panel for kids

Four members of the Bonn parliament have been appointed to take care of the interests of children.

In announcing the all-party move, the Speaker of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, said he had inquired at the embassies in Bonn and had discovered that no other country in the world had taken such a step.

The four are Herbert Werner (CDU/CSU), from Ulm; Wilhelm Schmidt (SPD), from Salzgitter; Norbert Eimer (FDP), from Fürth; and Waltraud Schoppe (Greens), from Bassum.

Professor Walter Bärsch, head of the German society for the protection of children, said the move made it more likely that society ideas on issues such as family law would be acted on.

He said the four MPs must make sure that in the struggle over proposed tax reforms the interests of children and of families with a lot of children were not overlooked.

He expects the four to take up issues such as violence against children. He said about 300,000 children a year are maltreated either physically or emotionally: "We need explanations and not punishment if families are to be helped."

He said Bonn's example should be followed by the *Länder*, the cities and local authorities.

Hans Wüllenweber

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 10 October 1987)

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nect the front-door bell and the eldest answers the telephone. But if something important happens then they have to wake me up."

It is hard to keep this up for more than seven nights. "It is tough on the sixth and seventh night shift. Then I have dizzy turns and my circulation is not as good as it should be," said Margit Beckers.

A short published survey commissioned by the Labour Ministry confirms this. This survey said that there was no certain evidence that night work harmed women more than men. But women were doubly burdened by the family and so had far less sleep.

Surveys in East Germany on women who worked night shifts show clearly what this means; women over the age of 45 or so suffer from the health point of view far more than their male colleagues on the night shift.

Margit Beckers hopes that she will soon be able to give up working at night. "As soon as my husband earns enough I hope to have another child and so take a rest from work for a few years," she said.

When she returns to a job she intends to work only during the daytime.

"I shall be able to go out with my husband in the evening then. When you are working on a night shift that is impossible."

She is certain of one thing, however: "You cannot live like that for any length of time — work at night and look after the children during the day. You just cannot get used to that. It's simply against the body's rhythm."

Helga Kuhn

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 18 October 1987)